

Εἰκὼν Βασιλική.

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THE  
POURTRAICTURE  
OF  
HIS SACRED  
MAJESTIE  
IN  
HIS SOLITUDES  
AND  
SUFFERINGS.

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ROM.8.  
*More then Conquerour, &c.*

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*Bona agere, & mala pati, Regium est.*



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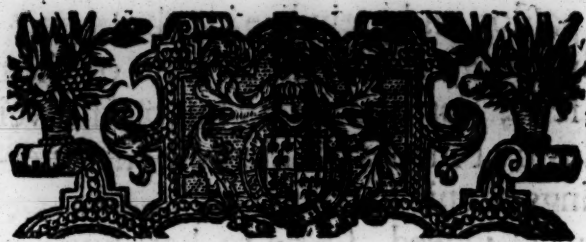
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ΕΙΚΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ.

I. *Upon His Majestie's calling this last Parliament.*

**H**is last P arliament I called, not more by other's advice, and necessitie of My affairs, then by My own choice and inclination; who have alwaies thought the right waie of Parliaments most safe for My Crown, as best pleasing to My P cople : And although I was not forgetful of those sparks, which som men's distempers formerly studied to kindle in Parliaments, (which, by forbearing to convene for som years, I hoped to have extinguished) yet, resolving with My self to give all just satisfaction to modest and sober desires, and to redress all publick grievances in Church and State, I hoped (by My freedom and their Moderation) to prevent all misunderstandings and miscarriages in this : In which as I feared affairs would meet with

some passion and prejudice in other men ; so I resolved they should finde least of them in My self ; not doubting ; but by the weight of Reason I should counterpoize the over-balancings of anie Factions.

I was, indeed, sorrie to hear with what partialitie and popular heat Elections were carried in manie places ; yet, hoping that the gravitie and discretion of other Gentlemen would allay and fix the Commons to a due temperament (guideing some men's well-meaning zeal by such Rules of Moderation as are best both to preserv and restore the health of all States and Kingdoms ) No man was better pleased with the convening of this Parliament, then My self ; who knowing best the largeness of My own Heart toward My People's good, and just contentment, pleased My self most in that good and firm understanding which would hence grow between Mee and My People.

All jealousies beeing laid aside, My own and My Children's Interests gave Mee manie obligations to seek and preserv the love and welfare of My Subjects ; the onely temporal blessing that is left to the ambition of just Monarchs, as their greatest honor and safetie, next God's protection. I cared not to lessen My self in some things of My wonted Prerogative, since I knew I could bee no loser,

fer, if I might gain but a recompence in My Subject's affections.

I intended not onely to oblige My friends; but Mine enemies also; exceeding even the desires of those that were factiously discontented, if they did but pretend to anie modest and sober sens.

The *odium* and offences which som men's rigor or remisness in Church and State had contracted upon My Government, I resolved to have expiated by such Laws and regulations for the future, as might not onely rectifie what was amiss in practice; but supplie what was defective in the constitution: No man haveing a greater zeal to see Religion settled, and preserved in Truth, Unitie, and Order then My self; whom it most concern's both in Pietie, and Policie, as knowing, that, No flames of civil dissentions are more dangerous then those which makes religious pretensions the grounds of Factions.

I resolved to reform what I should by free and full advice in Parliament bee convinced to bee amiss; and to grant whatever My Reason and Conscience told Mee was fit to bee desired; I wish I had kept My self within those bounds, and not suffered My own Judgment to have been over-born in som things, more by other's Importunities, then their Arguments; My confidence had less betrayed

betraied My self and My Kingdoms to those advantages, which some men sought for, who wanted nothing but power and occasion to do mischief.

But our sins beeing ripe, there was no preventing of God's Justice from reaping that glorie in our Calamities, which wee robb'd him of in our Prosperitie.

*For thou (O Lord) hast made us see, that Resolutions of future Reforming do not alwaies satisfie thy Justice, nor prevent thy Vengeance for former miscarriages.*

*Our sins have overlaid our hopes; Thou hast taught us to depend on thy mercies to forgive, not on our purpose to amend.*

*When thou hast vindicated thy glorie by thy Judgments, and hast shewed us how unsafe it is to offend thee, upon presumptions afterwards to please thee; Then I trust thy mercies will restore those blessings to us, which wee have so much abused, as to force thee to deprive us of them.*

*For want of timelie repentance of our sins, thou givest us cause to repent of those Remedies wee too late apply.*

*Yet I do not Repent of My calling this last Parliament; becaus, O Lord, I did it, with an upright intention, to Thy glorie, and My People's good.*

*The Miseries which have ensued upon Me and My Kingdoms are the just effects of thy displeasure*



sure upon us; and may bee yet (through thy Mercie) preparatives of us to future blessings, and better hearts to enioie them.

O Lord, though thou hast deprived us of manie former comforts, yet grant Mee and My People the benefit of our afflictions, and thy chastisements; that thy rod, as well as thy staff, may comfort us: then shall wee dare to account them the stroaks not of an Enemy, but a Father, when thou givest us those humble affections, that measure of patience in repentance, which becom's thy Children. I shall have no caus to repent the miseries this Parliament hath occasioned, when by them thou hast brought Mee and My People unfeignedly to repent of the sins wee have committed.

Thy Grace is infinitely better with our sufferings, then our Peace could bee with our sins.

O thou Sovereign Goodness and Wisdom, who over-rulest all our Counsels, over-rule also all our hearts, that the worst things wee suffer by thy Justice, the better wee may bee by thy Mercie.

As our sins have turned our Antidotes into Poison; so let thy Grace turn our Poison into Antidotes.

As the sins of our Peace disposed us to this unhappie War; so let this War prepare us for thy blessed Peace.

That although I have but troublesom Kingdoms here, yet I may attain to that Kingdom of Peace in My Heart, and in thy Heaven, which Christ hath purchased, and thou wilt give to thy Servant (though



(though a Sinner) for My Savior's sake, Amen.

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## 2: Upon the Earl of Strafford's Death.

**I** Looked upon My Lord of *strafford*, as a Gentleman, whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, then ashamed to emploie him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakeings; and this was like enough to betraie him to great errors, and manie enemies: Whereof hee could not but contract good store, while mooving in so high a spheer, and with so vigorous a lustre, hee must need's (as the Sun) raise manie envious exhalations, which condensed by a popular *odium*, were capable to cast a cloud upon the brightest merit and integritie.

Though I cannot in My Judgment approve all hee did, driv'n (it may bee) by the necessities of Times, and the temper of that People, more then led by his own disposition to anie height and rigor of actions: yet I could never bee convinced of anie such criminalousness in him, as willingly to expose his life to the stroke of Justice, and malice of his Enemies.

I never met with a more unhappie conjuncture of affairs, then in the business of that  
unfortunate

unfortunate Earl : when, between My own unsatisfiedness in Conscience, and a necessitie (as som told Mee) of satisfying the importunities of som people, I was perswaded by those, that I think wished Mee well, to chuse rather what was *safe*, then what seemed *just*; preferring the outward peace of My Kingdoms with men, before that inward exactness of Conscience with God.

And indeed I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on My part (for plenarie consent it was not) to his destruction, whom in My Judgment I thought not, by anie clear Law, guiltie of death : That I never bare any touch of Conscience with greater regret : which as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailtie, that it discovered more a fear of Man, then of God; whose name and place on Earth no man is worthie to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of State, by acts of so high injustice, as no publick convenience can expiate or compensate.

¶ I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to salve State-sores; to calm the storms of popular discontents, by stirring up a tempest in a man's own bosom.

Nor hath God's Justice failed in the event and sad consequences, to shew the world the fallacie

fallacie of that Maxim, *Better one man perish (though unjustly) then the people bee displeased, or destroyed.*

In all likelihood I could never have suffered, with My People, greater calamities, (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated *Strafford's* innocencie, at least by denying to Sign that destructive *Bill*, according to that Justice, which My Conscience suggested to Mee, then I have don since I gratified som men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favor. And I have observed, that those, who counselled Mee to sign that *Bill*, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiating with the People, that no men have been harassed and crushed more then they. Hee onely hath been least vexed by them, who counselled Mee not to consent against the Vote of My own Conscience : I hope God hath forgiv'n Mee and them the sinful rashness of that business.

To which, beeing in My soul so fully conscious, those Judgments God hath pleased to send upon Mee, are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercie hath sanctified so to Mee, as to make Mee repent of that unjust Act, (for so it was to Mee) and for the future to teach Mee, That the *best rule of Policie* is to prefer the doing of Justice, before all Enjoiments ; and the Peace of My

My Conscience before the preservation of My Kingdoms.

Nor hath anie thing more fortified My resolutions against all those violent importunities, which since have sought to gain alike consent from Mee, to Acts, wherein My Conscience is unsatisfied, then the sharp touches I have had for what passed Mee, in My Lord of *Strafford's* Business.

Not that I resolved to have employed him in My affairs, against the advice of My Parliament; but I would not have had anie hand in his death, of whose guiltlesness I was better assured, then anie man living could bee.

Nor were the Crimes objected against him so clear, as after a long and fair Hearing, to give convincing satisfaction to the Major part of both Houses, especially that of the Lords, of whom scarce a third part were present, when the *Bill* passed that Hous. And for the Hous of Commons, manie Gentlemen, disposed enough to diminish My Lord of *Strafford's* greatness and power, yet unsatisfied of his guilt in Law, durst not condemn him to die: who for their integritie in their Votes, were (by posting their Names) exposed to the popular calumnie, hatred, and furie, which grew then so exorbitant in their clamors for *Justice*, (that is, to have both My self and the two Houses Vote, and do as they would



would have us) that manie ('tis thought) were rather terrified to concurr with the condemning Partie, then satisfied, that of right they ought so to do.

And that after-A& vacateing the Autoritie of the precedent, for future imitation, tell's the world, that som remorse touched even his most implacable Enemies, as knowing hee had verie hard measure, and such as they would bee verie loth should bee repeated to themselves.

This tenderness and regret I finde in My soul, for haveing had anie hand (and that verie unwillingly, God know's) in shedding one man's blood unjustly, though under the color and formalitie of Justice, and pretences of avoiding publick mischiefs, which may (I hope) bee som evidence before God and Man, to all posteritie, that I am far from bearing justly that vast load and guilt of all that blood which hath been shed in this unhappie War, which som men will needs charge on Mee, to ease their own souls, who am, and ever shall bee, more afraid to take away anie man's life unjustly, then to lose mine own.

*But thou O God of infinite mercies, forgive Mee that act of sinful compliance, which hath greater aggravations upon Mee then anie man: since I had not the least temptation of envie, or malice against him,*



him, and by My Place should; at least so far, have been a Preserver of him, as to have denied My consent to his destruction.

O Lord, I acknowledg My transgression, and My sin is ever before Me.

Deliver Me from blood-guiltiness O God, thou God of My salvation; and My tongue shall sing of thy Righteousness.

Against thee have I sinned, and don this evil in thy sight, for thou sawest the contradiction between My Heart and My Hand.

Yet cast Me not away from thy Presence, purge Me with the blood of My Redeemer, and I shall bee clean; wash Me with that pretious effusion, and I shall bee whiter then Snow.

Teach Me to learn Righteousness by thy Judgments, and to see My frailtie in thy Justice: while I was perswaded, by shedding one man's blood, to prevent after-troubles, thou hast for that, among other sins, brought upon Me, and upon My Kingdoms; great, long, and heavie troubles.

Make Me to prefer Justice, which is thy will, before all contrarie clamors, which are but discoveries of man's injurious will.

It is too much that they have once overcome Me, to pleas them by displeasing thee: O never suffer Me, for any Reason of State, to go against My Reason of Conscience, which is highly to sin against thee, the God of Reason, and Judge of our Consciences.

Whatever, O Lord, thou see'st fit to deprive Mee of, yet restore unto Mee the joie of thy Salvation, and ever uphold Mee with thy free Spirit who subject's My will to none, but the light of Reason, Justice, and Religion which shine's in My Soul : for thou desirest Truth in the inward parts, and Integritie in the outward expressions.

Lord, hear the voice of thy Son's, and My Saviour's Blood, which speak's better things : O make Mee and My People to hear the voice of Joie and Gladness, that the bones, which thou hast broken, may rejoice in thy Salvation.

### 3. Upon His Majestie's going to the House of Commons.

**M**Y going to the House of Commons, to demand Justice upon the five Members, was an Act, which My enemies loaded with all the obloquies and exasperations they could.

It filled indifferent men with great Jealousies and fears ; yea, and manie of My friends resented it as a motion rising rather from Passion then from Reason ; and not guided with such discretion, as the touchiness of those times required.

But these men knew not the just motives, and pregnant grounds, with which I thought  
My

My self so furnished, that there needed nothing to such evidence, as I could have produced against those I charged, save onely a free and legal Trial, which was all I desired.

Nor had I anie temptation of displeasure or revenge against those men's persons, further then I had discovered those (as I thought) unlawful correspondencies they had used, and engagements they had made, to embroil My Kingdoms : of all which I missed but little to have produced writings under som men's own hands, who were the chief contrivers of the following Innovations.

Providence would not have it so ; yet I wanted not such probabilities as were sufficient to raise Jealousies in anie King's heart, who is not wholly stupid and neglective of the Publick Peace ; which to preserv by calling in Question half a dozen men, in a fair and legal waie (which God know's was all My design) could have amounted to no worse effect, had it succeeded, then either to do Mee and My Kingdoms right, in case they had been found guiltie ; or els to have cleared their Innocencie, and remooved My suspicion : which, as they were not raised out of anie malice ; so neither were they in Reason to bee smothered.

What flames of discontent this spark

though I sought by all speedie and possible means to quench it) soon kindled, all the world is witness: The aspersion which some men cast upon that action, as if I had designed by force to assault the House of Commons, and invade their Priviledg, is so false, that, as God best know's, I had no such intent: so none that attended could justly gather from anie thing I then said, or did, the least intimation of anie such thoughts.

That I went attended with some Gentlemen, as it was no unwonted thing for the Majestie and safetie of a King so to be attended, especially in discontented times; so were My followers at that time short of My ordinarie Guard, and no waie proportionable to hazard a tumultuarie conflict. Nor were they more scared at My coming, then I was un-assured of not haveing some affronts cast upon mee, if I had none with mee to preserv a reverence to mee; for manie people had (at that time) learned to think those hard thoughts, which they have since abundantly vented against mee, both by words and deeds.

The sum of that Business was this:

Those men and their adherents were then looked upon, by the affrighted Vulgar, as greater protectors of their Laws and Liberties, then My self, and worthier of their protection.



protection. I leav them to God, and their own Consciences, who, if guiltie of evil machinations, no present impunitie, or popular vindications of them will bee subterfuge sufficient to rescue them from those exact Tribunals.

To which, in the obstructions of Justice among men, wee must religiously appeal, as beeing an argument to us Christians of that after-unavoidable judgment, which shall re-judg, what among men is but corruptly decided, or not at all.

I endeavored to have prevented, if God had seen fit, those future commotions, which, I fore-saw, would in all likelihood follow some mens activitie (if not restrained) and so now hath don to the undoing of manie thousands; the more is the pittie :

But to over-aw the freedom of the Houses, or to weaken their just Autoritie by anie violent impressions upon them, was not at all My design : I thought I had so much Justice and Reason on My side, as should not have needed so rough assistance : and I was resolved rather to bear the repuls with patience, then to use such hazardous extremities.

*But thou, O Lord, art My witness in Heaven,  
and in My heart : If I have purposed anie violence  
or oppression against the Innocent ; or*



if there were anie such wickedness in My thoughts.

Then let the enemie persecute My soul, and tread My life to the ground, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.

Thou that see'st not as man see'th, but lookest beyond all popular appearances, searching the heart, and trying the reins, and bringing to light the hidden things of darknes, shew thy self.

Let not My afflictions bee esteemed (as with wise and godlie men they cannot bee) anie argument of of my sin, in that matter; more then their Impunitie among good men is anie sure token of their innocencie.

But forgive them wherein they have don amiss, though they are not punished for it in this world.

Save thy Servant from the privie conspiracies, and open violence of bloodie and unreasonable men, according to the uprightness of My heart, and the innocencie of My hands in this matter.

Plead My caus, and maintain My right, O thou that fittest in the Throne judging rightly, that thy servant may ever rejoyce in thy salvation.

#### 4. Upon the Insolencie of the Tumults.

**I** Never thought anie thing (except our sins) more ominously presaging all these mischiefs which have followed, then those Tumults in London and Westminster, soon after

ter the Convening of this Parliament; which were not like a storm at Sea, (which yet want's not it's terror) but like an Earthquake, shaking the verie foundations of all; then which, nothing in the world hath more of horror.

As it is one of the most convincing Arguments that there is a God, while his power set's bounds to the raging of the Sea: so 'tis no less that hee restrain's the madness of the people. Nor doth anie thing portend more God's displeasure against a Nation, then when hee suffer's the confluence and clamors of the Vulgar to pass all boundaries of Laws, and reverence to Autoritie.

Which those Tumults did to so high degrees of Insolence, that they spared not to invade the Honor and Freedom of the two Houses, menacing, reproaching, shaking, yea, and assaulting som Members of both Houses, as they fancied or disliked them: Nor did they forbear most rude and unseemlie deportments, both in contemptuous words and actions, to My self and My Court.

Nor was this a short fit or two of shaking, as an Ague; but a quotidian Fever, alwaies increasing to higher inflammation, impatient of anie mitigation, restraint, or remission.

First, they must bee a Guard against those fears which som men feared themselvs and

others withall, when, indeed, nothing was more to bee feared and less to bee used by wise men then those tumultuarie confluxes of mean and rude people, who are taught first to Petition, then to Protect, then to Dictate, at last to Command and Over-aw the Parliament.

All obstructions in Parliament (that is, a freedom of differing in Votes, and debateing matters with reason and candor) must bee taken away with these Tumults: By these must the Houses bee purged, and all rotten Members (as they pleas to count them) cast out: By these the obstinacie of men, resolved to discharge their Consciences, must bee subdued; by these all factious, seditious, and schismatical Proposals against Government Ecclesiastical or Civil, must bee backed and abetted, till they prevailed.

Generally, who ever had most minde to bring forth confusion and ruine upon Church and State, used the midwiferie of those Tumults; whose riot and impatience was such, that they would not staie the ripening and and season of Counsels, or fair production of Acts, in the order, gravitie, and deliberateness besitting a Parliament; but ripped up with barbarous crueltie, and forcibly cut out abortive Votes, such as their Inviters and Encouragers most fancied.

Yea,

Yea, so enormous and detestable were their out-rages, that no sober man could bee without an infinite shame and sorrow to see them so tolerated, and connived at by som, countenanced, encouraged, and applauded by others.

What good man had not rather want anie thing hee most desired, for the Publick good, then obtain it by such unlawful and irreligious means? But men's passions and God's directions seldom agree; violent designs and motions must have suteable engines; such as too much attend their own ends seldom confine themselves to God's means. Force must crowd in, what Reason will not lead.

Who were the chief Demagogues and Patroners of Tumults to send for them, to flatter and embolden them, to direct and turn their clamorous importunities, som men yet living are too conscous to pretend ignorance: God in his due time will let these see, that those were no fit means to bee used for attaining his ends.

But, as it is no strange thing for the sea to rage, when strong windes blow upon it; so, neither for multitudes to becom insolent, when they have Men of som reputation for parts and pietie to set them on.

That which made their rudeness most formidable, was, That manie Complaints be-  
ing



ing made, and Messages sent by My self and som of both Houses ; yet no order for redress could bee obtained with anie vigor and efficacie, proportionable to the malignitie of that now far-spread diseaf and predominant mischief.

Such was som men's stupiditie, that they feared no inconvenience : Other's petulancie, that they joied to see their Betters shamefully out-raged and abused, while they knew their onelie securitie consisted in Vulgar flatterie ; so insensible were they of Mine, or the two House's common Safetie and Honors.

Nor could ever anie Order bee obtained impartially to examine, censure, and punish the known *Boutefeus* and impudent Incendiaries, who boasted of the influence they had and used to convoke those Tumults, as their advantages served.

Yea, som (who should have been wiser Statef-men) owned them as friends, commending their Courage, Zeal, and Industrie ; which to sober men could seem no better then that of the Devil, who *goe's about seeking whom hee may deceiv, and devour.*

I confess, when I found such a deafness, that no Declaration from the Bishops, who were first foully insolenced and assaulted ; nor yet from other Lords and Gentlemen of Honor ; nor yet from My self could take place  
for

for the due suppression of these Tumults, and securing, not onely Our Freedom in Parliament, but Our verie Persons in the streets; I thought My self not bound, by My presence, to provoke them to higher boldness and contempts: I hoped, by my with-drawing, to give time, both for the ebbing of their tumultuous furie, and other's regaining som degrees of modestie and sober sens.

Som may interpret it as an effect of Pusillanimitie for anie man for popular terrors to desert his Publick Station. But I think it a hardiness, beyond true valor, for a wise man to set himself against the breaking in of a Sea, which to resist, at present, threaten's imminent danger; but to withdraw, give's it space to spend its furie, and gain's a fitter time to repair the breach. Certainly, a Gallant man had rather fight to great disadvantages for number and place in the field, in an orderlie waie, then skuffle with an undisciplined rabble.

Som suspected and affirmed that I meditated a War, (when I went from *White-hall* onely to redeem My Person and Conscience from violence) God know's, I did not then think of a War. Nor will anie prudent man conceiv, that I would, by so manie former and som after-Acts, have so much weakned My self, if I had purposed to engage in a War,  
which

which to decline by all means, I denied My self in so manie particulars : 'Tis evident I had then no Armie to flie unto, for protection, or vindication.

Who can blame Mee, or anie other, for with-drawing our selvs from the dailie bai-zings of the Tumults, not knowing whether their furie and discontent might not flie so high, as to worrie and ~~tear~~ those in pieces, whom as yet they but plaied with in their paws ? God, who is My sole Judg, is My Witness in Heaven, that I never had anie thoughts of going from My Houf at *White-hall*, if I could have had but anie reasonable fair Quarter : I was resolved to bear much, and did so; but I did not think My self bound to prostitute the Majestie of My Place and Person, the safetie of My Wife and Children to those, who are prone to insult most, when they have objects and opportunitie most capeable of their rudeness and petulance.

But this busines of the Tumults (whereof som have given already an account to God, others yet liveing know themselves desperately guiltie) Time and the guilt of manie hath so smothered up and buried, that I think it best to leav it, as it is; onely, I believ the just Avenger of all disorders will in time make those men, and that Cittie see their sin  
in

in the glafs of their punishment. 'Tis more then an even-laie that they may one daie fee themfelvs punished by that waie they offended.

Had this Parliament, as it was in it's first Election and Constitution, fate full and free, the Members of both Houses beeing left to their freedom of Voting, as in all reason, honor, and Religion, they should have been; I doubt not but things would have been so carried, as would have given no less content to all good men, then they wished or expected.

For, I was resolved to hear reason in all things, and to consent to it so far as I could comprehend it: but as Swine are to Gardens and orderlie Plantations; so are Tumults to Parliaments, and Plebeian concourses to publick Councils, turning all into disorders and fordid confusions.

I am prone somtimes to think, That had I called this Parliament to anie other place in *England* (as I might opportunely enough have don) the sad consequences in all likelihood, with God's blessing, might have been prevented. A Parliament would have been welcom in anie place; no place afforded such confluence of various and vitious humors, as that where it was unhappily convened. But wee must leav all to God, who order's our disorders, and magnifie's his wisdom



wisdom most, when our follies and miseries are most discovered.

But thou, O Lord, art My refuge and defence, to thee I may safely flie, who rulest the raging of the Sea, and the madness of the People.

The floods, O Lord, the floods are com in upon Mee, and are readie to overwhelm Mee.

I look upon My sins, and the sins of My People, (which are the tumults of our Souls against thee O Lord) as the just caus of these popular inundations, which thou permittest to over-bear all the banks of Loyaltie, Modestie, Laws, Justice, and Religion.

But thou that gathered'st the waters into one place, and made'st the drie land to appear, and after did'st assuage the flood which drowned the world, by the word of thy Power; rebuke those beasts of the People, and deliver Mee from the rudeness and strivings of the multitude.

Restore, we beseech thee, unto us the freedoms of our Councils and Parliaments; make us unpassionately to see the light of Reason, and Religion, and with all order and gravitie to follow it, as it becom's Men and Christians; so shall wee praise thy Name, who art the God of Order and Counsel.

What man cannot, or will not repress, thy Omnipotent Justice can, and will.

O Lord, give them, that are yet living, a timely sens and sorrow for their great sin, whom thou knowest

knowest guiltie of raising or not suppressing those disorders : Let shame here, and not suffering hereafter bee their punishment.

Set bounds to our passions by Reason ; to our errors by Truth, to our seditions by Laws duly executed; and to our Schisms by Charitie; that wee may bee, as thy Jerusalem, a Cittie at Unitie in it self.

This grant, O My God, in thy good time, for Jesus Christ's sake, Amen.

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5. Upon His Majestie's passing the Bill for the Triennial Parliaments: And after settling this, during the pleasure of the two Houses.

THAT the world might bee fully confirmed in My purposes at first, to contribute, what in Justice, Reason, Honor, and Conscience I could, to the Happie success of this Parliament, (which had in Mee no other design but the General good of My Kingdoms) I willingly passed the *Bill for Triennial Parliaments*: which, as gentle and seasonable Physick, might (if well applied) prevent anie distempers from getting anie head of prevailing; especially, if the remedie proved not a disease beyond all remedie.

I conceived, this Parliament would finde  
work

work with convenient recesses for the first three years; but I did not imagin that som men would thereby have occasioned more work then they found to do, by undoing so much as they found well don to their hands. Such is som men's activitie, that they will needs make work, rather then want it; and chuse to bee doing amiss, rather then do nothing.

When that first Act seemed too scantie to satisfie som men's fears, and to compass Publick Affairs, I was perswaded to grant that *Bill* of Sitting dureing the pleasure of the Houses, which amounted, in som men's sens, to as much as the perpetuateing this Parliament. By this Act of highest confidence, I hoped for ever to shut out, and lock the door upon all present Jealousies and future mistakes: I confess I did not thereby intend to shut My self out of doors, as som men have now requited Mee.

True: it was an Act unparalell'd by anie of My Predecessors, yet cannot in reason admit of anie worst interpretation then this, of an extream confidence I had, that My Subjects would not make ill use of an Act, by which I declared so much to trust them, as to denie My self in so high a point of Prerogative.

For good Subjects will never think it just or fit that My condition should bee worst by  
My

My bettering theirs : Nor indeed would it have been so in the events, if som men had known as well with moderation to use, as with earnestness to desire advantages of doing good or evil.

A continual Parliament (I thought) would but keep the Common-weal in tune, by preserving Laws in their due execution and vigor, wherein My interest lie's more then anie man's, since by those Laws, My Rights, as a KING, would bee preserved no less then my Subject's, which is all I desired. More then the Law giv's mee I would not have, and less the meanest Subject should not.

Som (as I have heard) gave it out, that I soon repented mee of that settling Act: and manie would needs perswade mee, I had caus'd so to do: but I could not easily nor suddenly suspect such ingratitude in men of Honor; That the more I granted them, the less I should have, and enjoie with them. I still counted My self undiminished by My largest concessions, if by them I might gain and confirm the love of My People.

Of which, I do not yet despair, but that God will still bless Mee with increas of it; when Men shall have more leisure, and less prejudice: that so with unpassionate representations they may reflect upon those, (as I think) not more princelie then friendlie contributions



butions, which I granted towards the perpetuating of their happiness; who are now only miserable in this, That some men's ambition will not give them leave to enjoy what I intended for their good.

Nor do I doubt, but that in God's due time, the loyal and cleared affections of My people will strive to return such retributions of Honor and love to Mee, or My Posteritie, as may fully compensate both the Acts of My confidence and My sufferings for them; which (God know's) have been neither few, nor small, nor short; occasioned chiefly by a persuasion I had, that I could not grant too much, or distrust too little to Men, that being professedly My Subjects, pretended singular piety and religious strictness.

The injurie of all injuries is, That which some men will needs load Mee withall, as if I were a wilful and resolved Occasioner of My own and My Subject's miseries, while (as they confidently, but (God know's) falsely divulge) I repining at the establishment of this Parliament, endeavored by force and open hostilitie to undo what by My Royal assent I had don. Sure it had argued a verie short sight of things, and extream fatuitie of minde in Mee, so far to binde My own hands at their request, if I had shortly meant to have used a Sword against them. God know's, though

though I had then a sens of injuries, yet not such, as to think them worth vindicating by a War: I was not then compelled, as since, to injure My self by their not using favors, with the same candor wherewith they were conferred. The tumults indeed threatned to abuse all Acts of Grace, and turn them into Wantonness; but I thought at length their own fears, whose black arts first raised up those turbulent spirits, would force them to conjure them down again.

Nor if I had justly resented anie indignities put upon Mee, or others, was I then in anie capacitie to have taken just revenge in an Hostile and Warlike waie upon those, whom I knew so well fortified in the love of the meaner sort of people, that I could not have giv'n My Enemies greater, and more desired advantages against Mee, then, by so unprincelie Inconstancie, to have assaulted them with Arms, thereby to scatter them, whom but lately I had solemnly settled by an Act of Parliament.

God know's, I longed for nothing more then that My self, and My Subjects might quietly enjoie the fruits of My manie condescendings.

It had been a Court full of sin, as well as of hazard, and dishonor for Mee to go about the cutting up of that by the Sword, which

I had so lately planted, so much (as I thought) to My Subject's content, and Mine own too, in all probabilitie : If som men had not feared where no fear was, whose securitie consisted in scaring others.

I thank God, I know so well the sinceritie and uprightnes of My own heart, in passing that great *Bill*, which exceeded the verie thoughts of former times, That although I may seem a less Politician to men, yet I need no secret distinctions or evasions before God. Nor had I anie reservations in My own Soul, when I passed it; nor repentings after, till I saw that My letting som men go up to the Pinnacle of the Temple, was a temptation to them to cast Mee down head-long; concludeing, that without a Miracle, Monarchie it self, together with Mee, could not but bee dashed in pieces, by such a precipitious fall as they intended. Whom God in mercie forgive, and make them see at length, That as manie Kingdoms as the Devil shewed our Saviour, and the glorie of them, (if they could bee at once enioied by them) are not worth the gaining, by the waies of sinful ingratitude and dishonor, which hazard's a soul worth more worlds, then this hath Kingdoms:

But God hath hitherto preserved Mee, and made Mee to see, That it is no strange thing for men, left to their own passions, either to  
do

do much evil themselves, or abuse the overmuch goodness of others, whereof an ungrateful Surfeit is the most desperate and incurable disease.

I cannot saie properly that I repent of that Act, since I have no reflexions upon it as a sin of My will, though an error of too charitable a judgment: Onely I am sorrie other men's eyes should bee evil, because Mine were good.

To thee (O My God) do I still appeal, whose All-discerning Justice sees through all the disguises of men's pretensions, and deceitful darkneses of their hearts.

Thou gavest Mee a heart to grant much to My Subjects, and now I need a heart fitted to suffer much from some of them.

Thy will bee done, though never so much to the crossing of our's, even when Wee hope to do what might bee most conformable to thine and their's too; who pretended they aimed at nothing else.

Let thy grace teach Mee wisely to enioie, as well the frustratings, as the fulfillings of My best hopes, and most specious desires.

I see while I thought to allay other's fears, I have raised Mine own; and by settling them, have unsettled My Self.

Thus have they requited Mee evil for good, and hatred for My good will towards them.



O Lord, bee thou My Pilot in this dark and dangerous storm, which neither admit's My return to the Port whence I set out, nor My makeing anie other, with that safetie and honor which I designed.

'Tis easie for thee to keep Mee safe in the love and confidence of My People ; nor is it hard for thee to preserv Mee amidst the unjust hatred and jealousies of too manie, which thou hast suffered so far to prevail upon Mee, as to bee able to pervert and abuse My Acts of greatest Indulgence to them, and assurance of them.

But no favors from Mee can make others more guiltie then My self may bee, of mis-using those manie and great ones, which thou, O Lord, hast conferred on Mee.

I beseech thee, give Mee and them such Repentance, as thou wilt accept, and such Grace as wee may not abuse.

Make Mee so far happie, as to make a right use of other's abuses, and by their failings of Mee, to reflect, with a reforming displeasure, upon My offences against thee.

So, although for My sins I am by other men's sins deprived of thy temporal blessings, yet I may bee happie to enjoie the comfort of thy mercies, which often rais the greatest sufferers to bee the most glorious Saints.

## 6. Upon His Majestie's retirement from Westminster.

**W**ITH what willingness I with-drew from *Westminster* let them judge, who, unprovided of tackling and victual, are forced to Sea by a storm; yet better so, then venture splitting or sinkeing on a Lee-shore.

I staid at *White-hall*, till I was driv'n away by shame more then fear; to see the barbarous rudeness of those Tumults, who resolved they would take the boldness to demand anie thing, and not leav either My self, or the Members of Parliament, the libertie of our Reason and Conscience to denie them anie thing.

Nor was this intolerable oppression My case alone, (though chiefly Mine) For the Lords and Commons might bee content to bee over-voted by the *major* part of their Houses, when they had used each their own freedom.

Whose agreeing Votes were not by anie Law or reason conclusive to My Judgment; nor can they include, or carrie with them My consent, whom they represent not in anie kinde: Nor am I further bound to agree with

the Votes of both Houses, then I see them agree with the will of God, with My just Rights, as a King, and the general good of My People. I see that as manie men they are seldom of one minde; and I may oft see, that the *major* part of them are not in the right,

I had formerly declared to sober and moderate mindes; how desirous I was to give all just content, when I agreed to so manie Bills, which had been enough to secure and satisfie all; If som men's Hydropick insatiableness had not learned to thirst the more by how much the more they drank; whom no fountain of Royal bountie was able to overcom; so resolved they seemed, either utterly to exhaust it, or barbarously to obstruct it.

Sure it cease's to bee Counsel, when not Reason is used, as to men, to perswade; but force and terror, as to beasts, to drive and compel men to assent to whatever tumultuarie patrons shall project. Hee deserv's to bee a slave without pittie or redemption, that is content to have the rational Soveraigntie of his Soul, and libertie of his Will and words so captivated.

Nor do I think My Kingdoms so considerable as to preserv them with the forfeiture of that freedom, which cannot bee denied Mee as a King, becaus it belong's to Mee as  
a Man,

a Man, and a Christian; owning the Dictates of none, but God, to bee above Mee, as obligeing Mee to consent. Better for Mee to die enjoying this Empire of My soul, which subject's Mee onely to God, so far as by Reason or Religion hee direct's Mee, then live with the title of a King, if it should carrie such a vassalage with it, as not to suffer Mee to use My Reason and Conscience, in what I declare as a King, to like or dislike.

So far am I from thinking the Majestie of the Crown of *England* to bee bound by anie Coronation-Oath, in a blinde and brutish formalitie, to consent to whatever it's Subjects in *Parliament* shall require, as some men will needs infer; while, denying Mee anie power of a Negative voice as King, they are not ashamed to seek to deprive Mee of the libertie of using My Reason with a good Conscience, which themselves, and all the Commons of *England* enjoie proportionable to their influence on the Publick; who would take it verie ill to bee urged, not to denie, whatever My self, as King, or the Houf of Peers with Mee, should not so much desire, as enjoin them to pass. I think My Oath fully discharged in that point by My Governing onely by such Laws, as My People, with the Houf of Peers, have chosen, and My self have consented to. I shall never think My self conscientiously



scientiously tied to go as oft against My Conscience, as I should consent to such new Proposals, which My Reason, in Justice, Honor, and Religion, bid's Mee denie.

Yet so tender I see som men are of their beeing subject to Arbitrarie Government, (that is, the Law of another's will, to which themselves give no consent) that they care not with how much dishonor and absurditie they make the King the onely man that must bee subject to the will of others, without haveing power left Him, to use His own Reason, either in Person, or by anie Representation.

And if My dissentings at anie time were (as som have suspected, and uncharitably avowed) out of error, opinionativeness, weakness, or wilfulness, and what they call Obstinaele in Mee (which not true Judgment of things, but som vehement prejudice or passion hath fixed on My minde;) yet can no man think it other then the Badg and Method of Slaverie, by savage rudeness, and importunate obtrusions of violence, to have the mist of His Error and Passion dispelled, which is a shadow of Reason, and must serv those that are destitute of the substance. Sure that man cannot bee blameable to God or Man, who seriously endeavor's to see the best reason of things, and faithfully follow's

follow's what hee take's for Reason: The uprightnes of his intentions will excuse the possible failings of his understanding: If a Pilot at Sea cannot see the Pole-star, it can bee no fault in him to steer his course by such stars as do best appear to him. It argues rather those men to bee conscious of their defects of Reason, and convincing Arguments, who call in the assistance of meer force to carrie on the weakness of their Counsels and Proposals. I may, in the truth and uprightnes of My heart, protest before God and Men, that I never wilfully opposed, or denied anie thing that was in a fair waie, after full and free debates propounded to Mee by the two Houses, further then I thought, in good reason, I might and was bound to do.

Nor did anie thing ever pleas Mee more, then when My Judgment so concurred with theirs, that I might with good Conscience consent to them: yea, in manie things where not absolute and moral necessitie of Reason, but temporarie convenience in point of Honor was to bee considered, I chose rather to denie My self, then them: as preferring that which they thought necessarie for My People's good, before what I saw but convenient for My self.

For I can bee content to recede much from

from My own Interests and Personal Rights, of which I conceiv My self to bee Master; but in what concern's Truth, Justice, the Rights of the Church, and My Crown, together with the general good of My Kingdoms, (which I am bound to preserv as much as morally lie's in Mee) here I am, and ever shall bee fixt and resolute, nor shall anie man gain My consent to that, wherein My Heart give's My tongue or hand the Lie; nor will I bee brought to affirm that to Men, which in My Conscience I denie before God. I will rather chuse to wear a Crown of Thorns with My Saviour, then to exchange that of Gold (which is due to Mee) for one of Lead, whose embased flexibleness shall bee forced to bend and complie to the various, and oft-contrarie Dictates of anie Factions; when, in stead of Reason and Publick concernments, they obtrude nothing but what make's for the interest of Parties, and flow's from the partialities of Private Wils and Passions.

I know no resolutions more worthie a Christian King, then to prefer His Conscience before His Kingdoms.

*O My God, preserv thy Servant in this Native, Rational, and Religious Freedom; for this I believ is thy will that wee should maintain: who, though*

though thou dost justly require us to submit our understandings and wils to thine, whose Wisdom and Goodness can neither err, nor misguid us, and so far to denie our carnal reason, in order to thy Sacred Mysteries and Commands, that wee should believ and obeie, rather then dispute them; yet dost thou expect from us, onely such a reasonable service of thee, as not to do anie thing for thee, against our Consciences; and as to the desires of men, enjoineest us to trie all things by the touch-stone of Reason and Laws which are the Rules of Civil Justice, and to declare our consents to that onely which our Judgments approve.

Thou knowest, O Lord, how unwilling I was to desert that place, in which thou hast set mee; and whereto the affairs of My Kingdoms at present did call mee.

My People can witness how far I have been content, for their good, to denie My self in what thou hast subjected to My disposal.

O let not the unthankful importunities and tumultuarie violence of som men's immoderate demands ever betraye mee to that degenerous & unmanlie slavery, which should make mee strengthen them by My consent in those things which, I think in My Conscience, to bee against thy glorie, the good of My Subjects, and the discharge of My own dutie in Reason and Justice.

Make mee willing to suffer the greatest indignities



nities and injuries they press upon Mee, rather than commit the least sin against My Conscience.

Let the just Liberties of My People bee (as well they may) preserved in fair and equal waies, without the slavery of My soul.

Thou that hast invested Mee by thy favors in the power of a Christian King, suffer Mee not to subject My Reason to other men's passions and designs, which to Mee seem unreasonable, unjust, and irreligious: So shall I serv thee in the truth and uprightness of My heart, though I cannot satisfie these men.

Though I bee driv'n from among them, yet give Mee grace to walk alwaies uprightly before thee.

Lead Mee in the waie of Truth and Justice; for these, I know, will bring Mee at last to peace and happiness with thee; though for these I have much trouble among men.

This I beg of thee for My Saviour's sake.

7. Upon the Queen's departure and absence out of England.

**A**Lthough I have much cause to bee troubled at My Wife's departure from Mee, and out of My Dominions; yet not her absence so much, as the scandal of that necessitie,

necessitie, wch drive's Her away, doth afflict Mee. That Shee should bee compelled by My own subjects, and those pretending to bee Protestants, to withdraw for Her safetie : This beeing the first example of anie Protestant-Subjects, that have taken up Arms against their King, a Protestant : for I look upon this now don in *England*, as another Act of the same Tragedie which was lately begun in *Scotland*; the brands of that fire beeing ill quenched have kindled the like flames here. I fear such motions ( so little to the adorning of the Protestant profession ) may occasion a farther alienation of minde, and divorce of affections in Her, from that Religion, which is the onely thing wherein wee differ.

Which yet God can, and, I pray, hee would in time take away; and not suffer these practises to bee anie obstruction to Her judgment; since it is the motion of those men, (for the most part) who are yet to seek and settle their Religion for Doctrine, Government, and good manners, and so not to bee imputed to the true English Protestants; who continue firm to their former settled Principles and Laws.

I am sorrie My relation to so deserving a Ladie should bee anie occasion of Her danger and affliction: whose merits would have served Her for a protection among the savage

vage *Indians*; while their rudeness and barbaritie know's not so perfectly to hate all Virtues, as some men's subtiltie doth; among whom I yet think few are so malicious as to hate Her for Her self. The fault, is that Shee is My Wife.

All justice then as well as affection command's Mee to studie Her Securitie, who is onely in danger for My sake; I am content to bee tossed, weather-beaten, and shipwrack't, so as Shee may bee in a safe Harbour.

This comfort I shall eniole by Her safetie in the mid'st of My Personal dangers, that I can perish but half, if Shee bee preserved: In whose memorie and hopeful Posteritie, I may yet survive the malice of My enemies; although they should bee satiated with My blood.

I must leav Her, and them, to the Love and Loyaltie of My good Subjects; and to his protection, who is able to punish the faults of Princes, and no less severely to revenge the injuries don to Them, by those, who, in all dutie and Allegiance, ought to have made good that safetie, which the Law's chiefly provide for Princes.

But common civilitie is in vain expected from those that dispute their Loyaltie: Nor can it bee safe (for anie relation) to a King, to tarrie among them who are shakeing hands  
with

with their Allegiance, under pretence of laying faster hold on their Religion.

'Tis pittie so noble and peaceful a Soul should see, much more suffer, the rudeness of those who must make up their want of justice, with inhumanitie and impudence.

Her sympathie with Mee in My afflictions, will make Her Virtues shine with greater lustre, as stars in the darkest nights: and assure the envious world, that Shee love's Mee, not My fortunes.

Neither of Us but can easily forgive, since Wee do not much blame the unkindness of the Generalitie, and Vulgar, for Wee see God is pleased to trie both Our patience, by the most self-punishing sin, the ingratitude of those, who haveing eaten of Our bread, and beeing enriched with Our bountie, have Scornfully lift up themselvs against Us, and those of our own Household are becom Our enemies. I praie God laie not their sin to their charge: who think to satisfie all obligations to dutie, by their *Corban* of Religion: and can less indure to see, then to sin against their benefactors as well as their Sovereigns.

But even that policie of My enemies is so far venial, as it was necessarie to their designs, by scandalous Articles, and all irreverent demeanour, to seek to drive Her out of My Kingdoms: lest by the influence of Her

D

example



example, eminent for love as a Wife, and loyaltie as a Subject, shee should have converted to, or retained in their love, and Loyaltie, all those whom they had a purpose to pervert.

The less I may bee blest with her companie, the more I will retire to God, and My own Heart, whence no malice can banish Her. My enemies may envie, but they can never deprive Mee of the enjoiment of her virtues, while I enioie my self.

*Thou O Lord, whose Justice at present see's fit to scatter us, let thy mercie, in thy due time, reunite us on earth, if it bee thy will; however bring us both at last, to thy heavenly Kingdom.*

*Preserv us from the hands of our despiteful and deadlie enemies: and prepare us by our sufferings for thy presence.*

*Though wee differ in som things, as to Religion (which is my greatest temporal infelicitie) yet Lord give, and accept the sinceritie of our affections, which desire to seek, to finde, to embrace everie Truth of thine.*

*Let both our Hearts agree in the love of thy self, and Christ crucified for us.*

*Teach us both what thou would'st have us to know, in order to thy glorie, our publick relations, and our soul's eternal good, and make us careful to do what good wee know.*

*Let neither Ignorance of what is necessarie to be known*

known, nor unbelief, or disobedience to what wee know, bee our miserie, or our wilful default.

Let not this great Scandal of those My Subjects, which profess the same Religion with mee, bee anie hinderance to her love of anie Truth thou would'st have her to learn, nor anie hardning of her in anie error thou would'st have cleared to her.

Let mine, and other men's constancie bee an Antidote against the poison of their example.

Let the Truth of that Religion I profess, bee represented to her Judgment, with all the beauties of Humilitie, Loyaltie, Charitie, and Peaceableness, which are the proper fruits and ornaments of it: Not in the odious disguises of Levitie, Schism, Heresie, Noveltie, Crueltie, and Disloyaltie, which som men's practices have lately put upon it.

Let her see thy sacred and savinge Truthes, as Thine; that shee may believe, love and obeye them as Thine, cleared from all rust and dross of humane mixtures.

That in the glasse of thy Truth shee may see thee, in those mercies which thou hast offered to us, in thy Son Jesus Christ, our onely Saviour, and serve thee in all those Holie duties, which most agree with his holie doctrine, and most imitable example.

The experience wee have of the vanitie, and uncertaintie of all humane Glorie, and greatness

*in Our scatterings and Eclipses, let it make Us both so much the more ambitious to bee invested in those durable Honors, and Perfections, which are onely to bee found in thy self, and obtained through Jesus Christ.*

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8. *Upon his Majestie's repulſ at Hull, and the fates of the Hothams.*

**M**Y repulſ at *Hull* ſeemed at the firſt view an act of ſo rude diſloyaltie, that My greateſt enemies had ſcarce confidence enough to abett, or own it: It was the firſt overt Eſſaie to bee made, how patiently I could bear the loſs of My Kingdoms.

God know's, it affected Mee more with ſhame and ſorrow for others, then with anger for My ſelf: nor did the affront don to Mee trouble Mee ſo much as their ſin, which admitted no color or excuſe.

I was reſolved how to bear this, and much more with patience: but I fore-ſaw they could hardly contain themſelves within the compaſs of this unworthie act, who had effronterie enough to commit, or countenance it. This was but the hand of that cloud, which was ſoon after to over-ſpread the whole Kingdom, and caſt all into diſorder and darkneſs.

For

For 'tis among the wicked Maxims of bold and disloyal undertakers, That bad actions must alwaies bee seconded with words, and rather not bee begun, then not carried on; for they think the retreat more dangerous then the assault, and hate repentance more then perseverance in a Fault.

This gave Mee to see clearly through all the pious disguises, and soft palliations of som men; whose words were sometime smoother then oil, but now I saw they would proov verie Swords.

Against which, I haveing (as yet) no defence, but that of a good Conscience, thought it My best policie (with patience) to bear what I could not remedie: And in this (I thank God) I had the better of *Hotham*, that no disdain, or emotion of passion transported Mee by the indignitie of his carriage, to do or saie anie thing unbeseeming My self, or unfuteable to that temper, which, in greatest injuries, I think, best becom's a Christian, as comming nearest to the great example of Christ.

And, indeed, I desire alwaies more to remember I am a Christian, then a King; for what the Majestie of one might justly abhor, the charitie of the other is willing to bear; what the height of a King tempteth to revenge, the humilitie of a Christian teacheth



to forgive. Keeping in compass all those impotent passions, whose excels injure's a man, more then his greatest enemies can, for these give their malice a full impression on our souls, which otherwaies cannot reach verie far, nor do us much hurt.

I cannot but observe how God not long after so pleaded and avenged My caus, in the eie of the world, that the most wilfully blinde cannot avoid the displeasure to see it, and with som remorse and fear to own it as a notable stroak and prediction of divine vengeance.

For, Sir *John Hatham*, unreproached, unthreatned, uncursed by anie language or secret imprecation of Mine, onely blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconstancie to another, not long after paie's his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their disloyaltie, to those men, from whom surely hee might have expected another reward then thus to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King.

Nor is it strange that they, who employed them at first in so high a service, and so succesful to them, should not finde mercie enough to forgive Him, who had so much premerited of them: For Apostacie unto Loy-  
altie

altie som men account the most unpardonable sin.

Nor did a solitarie vengeance serv the turn; the cutting off one head in a Familie is not enough to expiate the affront don to the Head of the Common-weal. The eldest Son must bee involved in the punishment, as hee was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Countrey. Root and Branch God cut's off in one daie.

These observations are obvious to everie fancie: God know's I was so far from rejoicing in *Hotham's* ruine, (though it were such as was able to give the greatest thirst for revenge a full draught, beeing executed by them who first employed him against mee) that I so far pittied him as I thought hee at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, then I hope other men do in the same Cause.

For hee was never thought to bee of that superstitious sownnes, which som men pretend to, in matters of Religion; which so darken's their judgment that they cannot see anie thing of Sin and Rebellion in those means they use with intents to reform to their Models what they call Religion, who think all is gold of pietie, which doth but glister with a shew of zeal and fervencie.

Sir *John Hotham* was (I think) a man of another

other temper, and so most liable to those down-right temptations of ambition, which have no cloak or cheat of Religion to impose upon themselves or others.

That which make's Mee more pittie him, is, that, after hee began to have som inclinations towards a repentance for his sin, and reparation of his dutie to Mee, hee should bee so unhappie as to fall into the hands of their Justice, and not My Mercie, who could as willingly have forgiv'n him, as hee could have asked that favor of Mee.

For I think clemencie a debt, which wee ought to paie to those that crave it, when wee have caus to believ they would not after abuse it; since God himself suffer's us not to paie anie thing for his mercie but onely praises and praises.

Poor Gentleman, hee is now becom a noteable monument of unprosperous Disloyaltie; teaching the world by so sad and unfortunate a spectacle, that the rude carriage of a Subject towards his Sovereign carries alwaies its own vengeance, as an inseparable shadow with it, and those oft proov the most fatal and implacable Executioners of it, who were the first Imploiers in the service.

After-times will dispute it, whether *Hotham* were more infamous at *Hull*, or at *Tower-Hill*, though

though 'tis certain that no punishment so stain's a man's Honor, as wilful perpetrations of unworthie actions; which, besides the conscience of the sin, brand's, with most indelible characters of infamie, the name and memorie to posteritie; who, not engaged in the Factions of the times, have the most impartial reflections on the actions.

*But thou, O Lord, who hast in so remarkable a waie avenged thy Servant, suffer Mee not to take anie secret pleasure in it; as his death hath satisfied the injurie hee did to Mee, so let Mee not by it gratifie anie passion in Mee, lest I make thy vengeance to bee Mine, and consider the affront against Mee, more then the sin against thee.*

*Thou indeed, without anie desire or endeavor of Mine, hast made his mischief to return on his own head, and his violent dealing to come down on his own pate.*

*Thou hast pleaded My Cause, even before the sons of men, and taken the matter into thine own hands; that men may know it was thy work, and see that thou, Lord, hast don it.*

*I do not, I dare not saie, So let Mine enemies perish, O Lord; yea, Lord, rather give them repentance, pardon, and impunitie, if it bee thy blessed will.*

*Let not thy Justice prevent the objects and opportunities of My Mercie; yea, let them live and amend*



amend who have most offended Mee in so high a nature ; that I may have those to forgive, who bear most proportion in their offences to those trespasses against thy Majestie, which, I hope, thy mercie hath forgiv'n Mee.

Lord laie not their sins ( who yet live ) to their charge for condemnation, but to their consciences for amendment: Let the lightning of this thunder-bolt, which hath been so severe a punishment to one, bee a terror to all.

Discover to them their sin, who know not they have don amiss, and scare them from their sin, that sin of malicious wickedness.

That, preventing thy judgments by their true repentance, they may escape the stroaks of thine eternal vengeance.

And do thou, O Lord, establish the Throne of thy servant in mercie and truth, meeting together ; let My Crown ever flourish in righteousness and peace, kissing each other.

Hear My prayer, O Lord, who hast taught us to praie for, to do good to, and to love our enemies, for thy sake ; who hath prevented us with offer-tures of thy love, even when wee were thine enemies ; and hast sent thy Son Jesus Christ to die for us, when wee were disposed to crucifie him.

9. *Upon the lifting, and raising Armies  
against the KING.*

**I** Finde that I am at the same point and posture I was, when they forced Mee to leave *WhiteHall*: what Tumults could not do, an Armie must; which is but Tumults listed, and enrolled to a better order, but as bad an end: My recess hath given them confidence that I may bee conquered.

And so I easily may as to anie outward strength, which, God know's, is little or none at all; But I have a Soul invincible, through God's grace enabling Mee: here I am sure to bee Conqueror, if God will give Mee such a measure of Constancie, as to fear him more then man; and to love the inward peace of My Conscience, before anie outward tranquillitie.

And must I bee opposed with force, because they have not reason wherewith to convince Mee? O My Soul! bee of good courage; they confess their known weakness, as to truth and Justice; who chose rather to contend by Armies, then by Arguments.

Is this the reward and thanks that I am to receive for those manie Acts of Grace I have lately passed; and for those manie Indignities

ties I have endured ? Is there no waie left to make Mee a glorious K I N G, but by My sufferings ?

It is a hard and disputable choice for a King that love's his People, and desire's their love, either to kill his own Subjects, or to bee killed by them.

Are the hazards and miseries of Civil War, in the bowels of My most flourishing Kingdom, the fruits I must now reap after seventeen years liveing and reigning among them, with such a measure of Justice, Peace, Plentie, and Religion, as all Nations about either admired or envied ? Notwithstanding som miscarriages in Government, which might escape, rather through ill counsel of som men driveing on their private ends, or the peevishness of others envying the publick should bee managed without them, or the hidden and insuperable necessities of State, then anie propensitie, I hope, of My self, either to injuriousness or oppression.

Whose innocent blood dureing My Reign have I shed, to satisfie My lust, anger, or covetousness ? What Widow's or Orphan's tears can witness against Mee, the just crie of which must now bee avenged with My own blood ? For the hazards of War are equal, nor doth the Cannon know anie respect of Persons.

In vain is My Person excepted by a Parenthesis of words, when so manie hands are armed against Mee with Swords.

God know's how much I have studied to see what ground of Justice is alledged for this War against Mee; that so I might (by giving just satisfaction) either prevent, or soon end so unnatural a motion, which (to manie men) seem's rather the production of a surfeit of Peace, and wantonness of mindes, or of private discontents, Ambition and Faction (which easily finde, or make causses of quarrel) then anie real obstruction of Publick Justice, or Parliamentarie Priviledg.

But this is pretended, and this I must bee able to avoid and answer before God in My own Conscience, however som men are not willing to beleeve Mee, lest they should condemn themselvs.

When I first with-drew from *White-hall*, to see if I could allaie the insolencie of the Tumults, of the not suppressing of which no account in Reason can bee giv'n, (where an orderlie Guard was granted but onely to oppress both Mine and the Two Houses freedom of Declaring and Voteing according to everie man's Conscience) what obstructions of Justice were there further then this, that



that what seemed just to one man, might not seem so to another ?

Whom did I by power protect against the Justice of *Parliament* ?

That som men withdrew, who feared the partialitie of their trial, (warned by My Lord of *Strafford's* death ) while the vulgar threatened to bee their Oppressors, and Judges of their Judges, was from that instinct, which is in all creatures, to preserv themselves. If anie others refused to appear, where they evidently saw the current of Justice and Freedom so stopped and troubled by the Rabble, that their lawful Judges either durst not com to the Houses, or not declare their sens with libertie and safetie, it cannot seem strange to anie reasonable man, when the sole exposing them to the publick *odium* was enough to ruine them, before their Cause could bee heard or tried.

Had not factious Tumults overborn the Freedom and Honor of the two Houses ; had they asserted their Justice against them, and made the waie open for all the Members quietly to com and declare their Consciences, I know no man so dear to Mee, whom I had the least inclination to advise either to withdraw himself, or denie appearing, upon their Summons ; to whose Sentence according

ding to Law ( I think ) everie Subject bound to stand.

Distempers (indeed) were risen to so great a height, for want of timelie repressing the vulgar insolencies, that the greatest guilt of those which were Voted and demanded as Delinquents was this, That they would not suffer themselves to bee over-aw'd with the Tumults and their Patrons ; nor compelled to abet by their suffrages or presence, the designs of those men who agitated innovations, and ruine both in Church and State.

In this point I could not but approov their generous constancie and cautiousness; further then this I did never allow anie man's refractoriness against the Priviledges & Orders of the Houses; to whom I wished nothing more, then Safetie, Fulness, and Freedom.

But the truth is, som men, and those not manie, despairing in fair and Parliamentarie waies, by free deliberations and Votes, to gain the concurrence of the Major part of Lords and Commons, betook themselves by the desperate activitie of factious Tumults to sift and terrifie away all those Members whom they saw to bee of contrarie mindes to their purposes.

How oft was the business of the Bishops enjoying their Antient places, and undoubted Priviledges in the Houf of Peers, carried  
for

for them by far the Major part of Lords : Yet after five repulses, contrarie to all Order and Custom, it was by tumultuarie instigations obtruded again, and by a few carried, when most of the Peers were forced to absent themselves.

In like manner was the *Bill* against Root and Branch brought on by tumultuarie Clamors, and schismatical Terrors ; which could never pass, till both Houses were sufficiently thinned and over-awed.

To which Partialitie, while in all Reason, Justice, and Religion, My conscience forbid's Mee by consenting to make up their Votes to Acts of Parliament, I must now be urged with an Armie, and constrained either to hazard My Own, and My Kingdom's ruine, by My Defence ; or prostrate My Conscience to the blinde obedience of those men, whose zealous superstition think's or pretend's, they cannot do God and the Church no greater service, then utterly to destroe that Primitive, Apostolical, and antiently-Universal Government of the Church by Bishops.

Which if other men's Judgments binde them to maintain, or forbid them to consent to the abolishing of, Mine much more ; who, besides the grounds I have in My Judgment, have also a most strict and indispen-  
fable

table Oath upon My Conscience, to preserv that Order, and the Rights of the Church; to which most Sacrilegious and abhorred Perjurie, most un-beseeming a Christian King, should I ever by giving My Consent bee betrayed, I should account it infinitely-greater miserie, then anie hath, or can befall Mee; inasmuch as the least sin hath more evil in it then the greatest affliction. Had I gratified their Anti-Episcopal Faction at first in this point, with My Consent, and sacrificed the Ecclesiastical Government, and Revenues to the furie of their Covetousness, Ambition, and Revenge, I believ they would then have found no colorable necessitie of raising an Armie to fetch in and punish Delinquents.

That I consented to the *Bill* of putting the Bishops out of the House of Peers, was don with a firm perswasion of their contentedness to suffer a present diminution in their Rights, and Honor, for My sake, and the Commonwealth's; which I was confident they would readily yield unto, rather then occasion (by the least obstruction on their part) anie dangers to Mee, or to My Kingdom. That I cannot add My Consent to the total Extirpation of that Government (which I have often offered to all fit regulations) hath so much further tie upon My Conscience, as what I think



Religious and Apostolical (and so verie Sacred and Divine) as not to bee dispensed with, or destroyed; when what is onely of civil Favor, and Priviledg of Honor granted to men of that Order, may with their consent, who are concerned in it, bee annulled.

This is the true state of those obstructions pretended to bee in point of Justice and Authority of Parliament; when, I call God to witness, I knew none of such consequence as was worth speaking of to make a War; being onely such as Justice, Reason, and Religion had made in My Own and other men's Consciences.

Afterwards indeed a great shew of Delinquents was made; which were but consequences necessarily following upon Mine, or other's withdrawing from, or defence against violence; but those could not bee the first occasion of raising an Armie against Mee. Wherein I was so far from preventing them, (as they have declared often) that they might seem to have the advantage and Justice of the defensive part, and load Mee with all the envie and injuries of first assaulting them; when as, God know's, I had not so much as anie hopes of an Armie in My thoughts. Had the Tumults been Honorably and effectually repressed by exemplarie Justice, and the Libertie of the Houses so vindicated, that all  
Members

Members of either House might with Honor and Freedom, becomming such a Senate, have com'n & discharged their Consciences, I had obtained all that I designed by My with-drawing; and had much more willingly, and speedily returned then I retired; this beeing My necessitie driving, the other My choice desiring.

But som men knew I was like to bring the same judgment and constancie, which I carried with Mee, which would never fit their designs: and so while they invited Mee to com, and grievously complained of My absence, yet they could not but bee pleased with it: especially when they had found out that plausible and popular pretext of raising an Armie to fetch in Delinquents: when all that while they never punished the greatest and most intolerable Delinquencie of the Tumults, and their Exciters, which drave My self, and so manie of both Houses from their places, by most barbarous indignities, which yet, in all Reason and Honor, they were as loth to have deserted, as those others were willing they should, that so they might have occasion to persecute them with the injuries of an Armie, for not suffering more tamely the injuries of the Tumults.

That this is the true state, and first drift and design in raising an Armie against Mee, is by

the sequel so evident, that all other pretenses vanish. For, when they declared by Propositions or Treaties, what they would have to appeale them, there was nothing of consequence offered to Mee, or demanded of Mee, as anie original difference in anie point of Law, or order of Justice. But, among other lesser Innovations, this chiefly was urged, The Abolition of Episcopal, and the Establishment of Presbyterian Government.

All other things, at anie time propounded, were either impertinent, as to anie ground of a War, or easily granted by Mee, and onely to make up a number, or else they were meerly consequential, and accessarie, after the war was by them unjustly begun.

I cannot hinder other men's thoughts, whom the nois and shew of pietie, and heat for Reformation and Religion, might easily so fill with prejudice, that all equalitie and clearness of judgment might bee obstructed. But this was, and is, as to My best observation, the true state of affairs between us, when they first raised an Armie, with this design, either to stop My mouth, or to force My consent: and in this truth, as to My conscience, ( who was (God know s) as far from meditating a War, as I was in the eie of the world from having anie preparations for one) I finde that comfort, that in the mid'st of all the unfortunate

fortunate successes of this War on My side, I do not think My Innocencie anie whit prejudiced or darkned; Nor am I without that Integrity, and Peace before God, as with humble confidence to address My Praier to Him.

*For Thou, O Lord, see'st clearly through all the cloudings of humane affairs; Thou judgest without prejudice: Thy Omniscience eternally guide's thy unerrable Judgment.*

*O My God, the proud are risen against Mee, and the assemblies of violent men have sought after My soul, and have not set Thee before their eyes.*

*Consider My enemies, O Lord, for they are manie, and they hate Mee with a deadlie hatred without a caus.*

*For Thou knowest, I had no passion, design, or preparation to embroil My Kingdoms in a Civil War; whereto I had least temptation; as knowing I must adventure more then anie, and could gain least of anie by it.*

*Thou, O Lord, art My witness, how oft I have deplored, and studied to divert the necessitie thereof, wherein I cannot well bee thought so prodigally thirstie of My Subject's blood, as to venture My own Life, which I have been oft compelled to do in this unhappie War; and which were better spent to save, then to destroye My People.*



O Lord, I need much of thy Grace, with patience to bear the manie afflictions thou hast suffered som men to bring upon Mee; but much more to bear the unjust reproaches of those, who, not content that I suffer most by War, will needs perswade the world that I have raised first, or giv'n just Caus to rais it.

The Confidence of som men's fals Tongues is such, that they would almost make Mee suspect My own Innocencie: Yea, I could bee content (at least by My silence) to take upon Mee so great a guilt before men, if by that I might allaiie the malice of My Enemies, and redeem My People from this miserable War, since thou, O Lord, knowest My Innocencie in this thing.

Thou wilt finde out bloodie and deceitful men; manie of whom have not lived out half their daies, in which they promised themselves the enjoyment of the fruits of their violence and wicked Counsels.

Save, O Lord, thy Servant, as hitherto thou hast, and in thy due time scatter the People that delight in War.

Arise, O Lord, lift up thy self, because of the rage of Mine Enemies, which increaseth more and more. Behold them that have conceived mischief, travelled with iniquitie, and brought forth falsehood.

Thou knowest the chief design of this War is, either to destroye My Person, or force My Judgement,

ment, and to make Mee renegé My Conscience and thy Truth.

I am driv'n to croſs David's choiſe and deſire, rather to fall into the hands of men, by denying them, (though their Mercies be cruel) then into thy hands by ſinuing againſt My Conſcience, and in that againſt thee, who art a conſuming fire: Better they deſtroie Mee, then thou ſhoul'd'ſt damn Mee.

Bee thou ever the deſenſ of My Soul, who wilt ſave the upright in heart.

If nothing but My blood will ſatiſfie My Enemies, or quench the flames of My Kingdoms, or thy Temporal Juſtice, I am content, if it be thy will, that it be ſhed by Mine own Subject's hands.

But, O let the blood of Mee, though their King, yet a ſinner, be waſhed with the blood of My Innocent and Peace-makeing Redeemer; for in that thy Juſtice will finde not onely a temporarie expiation, but an eternal-plenarie ſatiſfaction; both for My ſins, and the ſins of My People: whom I beſeech thee ſtill own for thine; and, when thy wrath is appeaſed by My Death, O Remember thy great Mercies toward them, and forgive them, O My Father, for they know not what they do.

10. *Upon their seazing the Kings Magazines, Forts, Navie, and Militia.*

**H**ow untruly I am charged with the first raising of an Armie and beginning this Civil war, the eies, that onely pittie Mee, and the Loyal hearts that durst onely praie for Mee at first, might witness, which yet appear not so manie on My side, as there were men in Arms listed against Mee; My unpreparedness for a war may well dis-hearten those that would help Mee; while it argue's (truly) My unwillingness to fight; yet it testifie's for Mee, that I am set on the defensive part; having so little hopes or power to offend others, that I have none to defend My self, or to preserve what is Mine own from their preration.

No man can doubt but they prevented Mee in their purposes, as well as their injuries, who are so much before-hand in their preparations against Mee, and surprizals of My strength. Such as are not for Them, yet dare not bee for Mee; so over-aw'd is their Loyaltie by the other's numbers and terrors. I believ My Innocencie, and unpreparedness to assert My Rights and Honor make's Mee the more guiltie in their esteem; who would not  
so

so easily have declared a War against Mee, if I had first assaulted them.

They knew My chiefest Arms left Me, were those onely, which the Ancient Christians were wont to use against their Persecutors, Praiers and Tears. These may serv a good man's turn, if not to Conquer as a Souldier, yet to suffer as a Martyr.

Their preventing of Mee, and surprizing My Castles, Forts, Arms, and Navie, with the *Militia*, is so far best for Mee, That it may drive Mee from putting anie trust in the arm of flesh, and wholly to cast My self into the protection of the liveing God, who can save by few, or none, as well as by manie.

Hee that made the greedie Ravens to bee *Elias's* Caterers, and bring him food, may also make their surprizal of outward force and defens an opportunitie to shew Mee the special support of his power and protection.

I thank God I reckon not now the want of the *Militia* so much in reference to My own protections as My People's.

Their manie and sore oppressions griev Mee; I am above My own; what I want in the hands of Force and Power, I have in the wings of Faith and Praier.

But this is the strange method these men will needs take to resolv their riddle of  
Making



Makeing Mee a glorious King, by takeing away My Kinglie power : Thus I shall becom a support to My Friends, and a Terror to My Enemies, beeing unable to succour the one, or suppress the other.

For thus have they designed and proposed to Mee, the new modelling of Sovereigntie and Kingship, so, without anie realitie of power, or without anie necessitie of subjection and obedience; That the Majestie of the Kings of *England* might hereafter hang like *Mahomet's* Tomb, by a Magneticke Charm, between the Power and Priviledges of the two Houses, in an aierie imagination of Regalitie.

But I believ the surfeit of too much Power, which som men have greedily seized on, and now seek wholly to devour, will, ere long, make the Common-wealth sick both of it and them, since they cannot well digest it; Sovereign Power in Subjects seldom agreeing with the Stomachs of fellow-Subjects.

Yet I have even in this point of the constant *Militia* sought, by satisfying their fears and importunities, both to secure My friends, and overcome Mine enemies; to gain the Peace of all; by depriving My self of a sole power to help, or hurt anie: yeelding the *Militia* (which is My undoubted Right no less then the Crown) to bee disposed of as the

two Houses shall think fit, during My time.

So willing am I to burie all Jealousies in them of Mee; and to live above all Jealousies of them, as to My self; I desire not to bee safer then I wish them and My People: If I had the sole actual disposing of the *Militia*, I could not protect My People, further then they protected Mee, and themselves: so that the use of the *Militia* is mutual. I would but defend My self so far, as to bee able to defend My good Subjects from those men's violence and fraud, who, conscious to their own evil merits and designs, will needs perswade the world, that none but Wolvs are fit to bee trusted with the custodie of the Shepherd and his Flock. Miserable experience hath taught My Subjects, since power hath been wrested from Mee, and employed against Mee and them, that neither can bee safe if both bee not in such a waie, as the Law hath entrusted the publick safetie and welfare.

Yet even this Concession of Mine as to the exercise of the *Militia*, so vast and large, is not satisfactorie to som men, which seem to bee Enemies not to Mee onely, but to all Monarchie; and are resolved to transmit to Posteritie such Jealousies of the Crown, as they should never permit it to enioie it's just and necessarie Rights, in point of Power; to  
which

which (at last) all Law is resolved, while thereby it is best protected.

But here Honor and Justice, due to My Successors, forbid Mee to yeild to such a total alienation of that power from them, which civilitie and dutie (no less then Justice and Honor) should have forbid them to have asked of Mee.

For, although I can bee content to Eclipse My own beams to satisfie their fears; who think they must needs bee scorched or blinded, if I should shine in the full lustre of Kinglie Power, wherewith God and the Laws have invested Mee; yet I will never consent to put out the Sun of Sovereigntie to all Posteritie, and succeeding Kings; whose just recoverie of their Rights, from unjust usurpations and extortions, shall never bee prejudiced or obstructed by anie Act of Mine; which indeed would not bee more injurious to succeeding Kings, then to My Subjects; whom I desire to leav in a condition not wholly desperate for the future; so as by a Law to bee ever subjected to those manie factious distractions, which must needs follow the manie-headed *Hydra* of Government: which, as it make's a shew to the people to have more eies to foresee; so they will finde, it hath more mouths, too, which must bee satisfied: and (at best) it hath rather a monstrousitie,

strositie, then anie thing of perfection, beyond that of right Monarchie: where counsell may bee in manie as the senses, but the Supreme Power can bee but in One as the Head.

Happily when men have tried the horrors and malignant influence which will certainly follow My enforced darkness and Eclipse, (occasioned by the interposition and shadow of that bodie, which as the Moon receiveth it's chiefeest light from Mee) they will at length more esteem and welcom the restored glorie and blessing of the Sun's light.

And if at present I may seem by My receding so much from the use of My Rights in the Power of the *Militia* to com short of the discharge of that trust to which I am sworn for My People's protection; I conceiv those men are guiltie of the enforced perjurie, (if so it may seem) who compel Mee to take this new and strange waie of discharging My trust, by seeming to desert it; or protecting My Subjects by exposing My self to danger or dishonor, for their safetie and quiet.

Which in the Conflicts of Civil war and advantages of Power cannot bee effected but by som side yielding; to which the greatest love of the publick Peace, and the firmest assurance of God's protection (arising from a good



good conscience) doth more invite Mee, then can bee expected from other men's fears; which, arising from the injustice of their actions (though never so successful) yet dare not adventure their Autors upon anie other waie of safetie, then that of the Sword and *Militia*; which yet are but weak defenses against the stroaks of divine vengeance, which will over-take; or of men's own Consciences, which alwaies attend injurious perpetrations.

For My self, I do not think that I can want anie thing which Providential Necessitie is pleased to take from Mee, in order to My People's tranquillitie, and God's glorie, whose protection is sufficient for Mee; and hee is able, by his beeing with Mee, abundantly to compensate to Mee, as hee did to *Job*, whatever honor, power, or libertie the *Chaldeans*, the *Sabeans*, or the Devil himself can deprive Mee of.

Although they take from Mee all defense of Arms and *Militia*; all refuge, by Land, of Forts, and Castles; all flight, by Sea, in My Ships and Navie; yea, though they studie to rob Mee of the Hearts of My Subjects, the greatest Treasure and best Ammunition of a King; yet cannot they deprive Mee of My own Innocencie, or God's Mercie, nor obstruct My waie to Heaven.

Therefore,

Therefore, O My God, to thee I flee for help; if thou wilt bee on My side, I shall have more wish Mee then can bee against Mee.

There is none in Heaven, or in Earth, that I desire in comparison of thee: In the loss of all, bee thou more then all to Mee: Make haste to succour Mee, thou that never failest them that put their trust in thee.

Thou see'st I have no power to oppose them that com against Mee, who are encouraged to fight under the pretence of fighting for Mee: But My eyes are toward thee.

Thou needest no help; nor shall I, if I may have thine; if not to conquer, yet at least to suffer.

If thou delightest not in My safety and prosperitie, behold here I am willing to bee reduced to what thou wilt have Mee; whose Judgments oft begin with thine own Children.

I am content to bee nothing, that thou may'st bee all.

Thou hast taught Mee, That no King can bee saved by the multitude of an Host; but yet thou canst save Mee by the multitude of thy Mercies, who art the Lord of Hosts, and the Father of Mercies.

Help Mee, O Lord, who am sore distressed on everie side; yet bee thou on My side, and I shall not fear what man can do unto Mee.

I will give thy Justice the glorie of My Distress.

O Let

O Let thy mercie have the glorie of My deliverance from them that persecute My Soul.

By My sins have I fought against thee, and robbed thee of thy glorie, who am thy Subject, and justly maist thou by My own subjects, strip mee of My strength, and eclips My glorie.

But shew thy self, O My hope, and onelie refuge! Let not Mine enemies saie, There is no help for him in his God.

Hold up My goings in thy paths, that My footsteps slip not.

Keep mee as the apple of thine eye, hide mee under the shadow of thy wings.

Shew thy marvellous loving kindenes, O thou that savest by thy right hand them that put their trust in thee, from those that rise up against them.

From the wicked that oppress mee, from My deadly enemies that compass mee about.

Shew mee the path of life. In thy presence is fulness of joye; at thy right hand there are pleasures for ever more.

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II. Upon the 19. Propositions first sent to the KING; and more afterwards.

**A**lthough there bee manie things, they demand, yet, if these be all, I am glad to see at what price they set My own safetie, and

and My People's peace; which I cannot think I buy at too dear a rate, save onely the parting with my Conscience and Honor. If nothing elf will satisfie; I must chuse rather to bee as miserable and inglorious, as My enemies can make or wish Mee.

Som things here propounded to Mee, have been offered by Mee; Others are easily granted; the rest (I think) ought not to bee obtruded upon Mee, with the point of the Sword; nor urged with the injuries of a War; when I have already declared that I cannot yeeld to them, without violating My Conscience: 'tis strange, there can bee no method of peace, but by making war upon My soul.

Here are manie things required of Mee, but I see nothing offer'd to Mee, by the waie of grateful exchange of Honor; or anie requital for those favors, I have, or can yet grant them.

This Honor they do Mee, to put Mee on the giving part, which is more Princelie and divine. They cannot ask more then I can give, may I but reserv to My self the Incommunicable Jewel of My Conscience; and not bee forced to part with that, whose loss nothing can repair or requite.

Som things (which they are pleased to propound) seem unreasonable to Mee, and while I have anie Masterie of My reason, how can



they think I can consent to them? Who know they are such as are inconsistent with being either a King, or a good Christian. My yeelding so much (as I have already) make's some men confident I will denie nothing.

The love I have of My People's peace, hath (indeed) great influence upon Mee; but the love of Truth and inward peace hath more.

Should I grant some things they require, I should not so much weaken my outward state of a King, as wound that inward quiet of My Conscience; which ought to be, is, and ever shall be (by God's grace) dearer to Mee then My Kingdoms.

Some things which a King might approve, yet in Honor and Policie are at some time to be denied, to some men, lest hee should seem not to dare to denie anie thing; and give too much encouragement to unreasonable demands or importunities.

But to binde My self to a general and implicite consent, to what ever they shall desire, or propound, (for such is one of their Propositions) were such a latitude of blinde obedience, as never was expected from anie Free-man; nor fit to be required of anie man, much less of a King by his own Subjects: anie of whom hee may possibly exceed as much in wisdom, as hee doth in place and power.

This were as if *Sampson* should have consented

ted, not onely to binde his own hands, and cut off his own hair, but to put out his own eies, that the *Philistins* might with the more safetie mock and abuse him; which they chose rather to do, then quite to destroy him, when hee was becom so tame an object, and fit occasion for their sport and scorn.

Certainly, to exclude all power of denial, seem's an arrogancie, least of all becomming those who pretend to make their addressees in an humble and loyal waie of Petitioning; who by that sufficiently confess their own inferioritie, which obligeth them to rest, if not satisfied, yet quieted with such an answer as the will and reason of their Superior think's fit to give; who is acknowledged to have a freedom and power of Reason to Consent, or Dissent; els it were verie foolish and absurd to ask, what another, having not libertie to denie, neither hath power to grant.

But if this bee My Right belonging to Mee, in Reason, as a Man; and in Honor, as a Sovereign King, (as undoubtedly it doth) how can it bee other then extreame injurie to confine My Reason to a necessitie of granting all they have a minde to ask? whose mindes may bee as differing from Mine both in Reason and Honor, as their aims may bee, and their qualities are, which last God and the Laws have sufficiently distinguished, making

king Mee their Sovereign, and them my Subjects: whose Propositions may soon proov violent oppositions, if once they gain to bee necessarie impositions upon the Regal Authority. Since no man seek's to limit and confine his King, in Reason, who hath not a secret aim to share with him, or usurp upon him in Power and Dominion.

But they would have Mee trust to their moderation, and abandon mine own discretion; that so I might verifie what representations som have made of Me to the world, that I am fitter to bee their Pupil then their Prince. Truly I am not so confident of Mine own sufficiencie, as not willingly to admit the Counsel of others: But yet I am not so diffident of My self, as brutishly to submit to anie men's dictates, and at once to betraie the Sovereigntie of Reason in My Soul, and the Majestie of My own Crown to anie of My Subjects.

Least of all have I anie ground of credulitie to induce Mee fully to submit to all the desires of those men, who will not admit or do refuse and neglect to vindicate the freedom of their own and other's sitting and voting in Parliament.

Besides, all men, that know them, know this; how young States-men (the most part) of these propounders are; so that, till experience

rience of one seven years hath shewed Mee, how well they can Govern themselvs, and so much power as is wrested from Mee; I should bee verie foolish indeed, and unfaithful in My Trust, to put the reins of both Reason and Government, wholly out of My own, into their hands; whose driving is already too much like *Jehus*; and whose forwardness to ascend the Throne of Supremacie portends more of *Phaëton* then of *Phæbus*: God divert the *Omen*, if it bee his will.

They may remember, that, at best, they sit in Parliament, as My Subjects, not My Superiors; called to bee My Counsellors, not Dictators: Their Summons extend's to recommend their advice, not to command My Dutie.

When I first heard of Propositions to bee sent Mee, I expected either som good Laws, which had been antiquated by the course of time, or overlaid by the corruption of manners, had been desired to a restauration of their vigor and due execution; or som evil customs preter-legal, and abuses personal had been to be removed: or som injuries don by My self, and others, to the Common-weal, were to bee repaired; or som equable offer-tures were to bee tendred to Mee, wherein the advantages of My Crown, beeing considered by them, might fairly induce



Mee to condescend, to what tended to My Subject's good, without anie great diminution of My self, whom Nature, Law, Reason, and Religion, binde Mee (in the first place) to preserv: without which 'tis impossible to preserv My People according to My Place.

Or (at least) I looked for such moderate desires of due Reformation of what was (indeed) amiss in Church and State, as might still preserv the foundation and essentials of Government in both; not shake and quite overthrow either of them, without anie regard to the Laws in force, the wisdom and pietie of former Parliaments, the antient and universal practice of Christian Churches; the Rights and Priviledges of particular men: Nor yet anie thing offered in lieu, or in the room of what must bee destroyed, which might at once reach the good end of the other's Institution, and also supplie its pretended defects, reform its abuses, and satisfie sober and wise men; not with soft and specious words, pretending zeal and special pietie, but with pregnant and solid reasons both divine and humane, which might justifie the abruptness and necessitie of such vast alterations.

But in all their Propositions I can observe little of these kindes, or to these ends: Nothing

thing of anie Laws dis-jointed, which are to bee restored; of anie right invaded; of anie justice to bee un-obstructed; of anie compensations to bee made; of anie impartial Reformation to bee granted; to all, or anie of which, Reason, Religion, true Policie, or a-nie other humane motives might induce Mec.

But, as to the main matters propounded by them at anie time, in which is either great noveltie, or difficultie, I perceiv that what were formerly look'd upon as Factions in the State, and Schisms in the Church, and so punishable by the Laws, have now the confidence, by vulgar clamors, and assistance (chiefly) to demand not onely Tolerations of themselves, in their vanitie, noveltie, and confusion; but also Abolition of the Laws against them; and a total extirpation of that Government, whose Rights they have a minde to invade.

This, as to the main: other Propositions are (for the most part) but as waste paper, in which those are wrapped up, to present them somewhat more handsomly.

Nor do I so much wonder at the varietie, and horrible noveltie of som Propositions (there beeing nothing so monstrous, which som fancies are not prone to long for.)

This cast's Me into, not an Admiration, but, an Extasie, how such things should have the

fortune to be propounded in the name of the two Houses of the Parliament of *England*: among whom, I am verie confident, there was not a fourth part of the Members of either House, whose judgments free, single and apart did approov or desire such destructive changes in the Government of the Church.

I am perswaded there remain's in far the Major part of both Houses, (if free and full) so much Learning, Reason, Religion, and just Moderation, as to know how to sever between the use and the abuse of things; the institution, and the corruption; the Government and the Mis-government; the Primitive Pattern's and the aberrations or blottings of after-Copies.

Sure they could not all, upon so little or no Reason (as yet produced to the contrarie) so soon renounce all regard to the Laws in force, to Antiquitie, to the Pietie of their reforming Progenitors, to the Prosperitie of former times in this Church and State, under the present Government of the Church.

Yet, by a strange fatalitie, these men suffer, either by their absence, or silence, or negligence, or supine credulitie (believing that all is Gold, which is gilded with shews of Zeal and Reformation) their private dissenting in Judgment to bee drawn into the common sewer

fewer or stream of the present vogue and humor; which hath its chief rise and abetment from those popular clamors and Tumults, which served to give life and strength to the infinite Activitie of those men, who studied, with all diligence and policie, to improve to their Innovating designs, the present distractions.

Such Armies of Propositions having so little, in My judgment, of Reason, Justice, and Religion on their side, as they had Tumult and Faction for their rise, must not go alone, but ever bee back't and seconded, with Armies of Souldiers: Though the second should prevail against My Person; yet the first shall never overcome Mee, further then I see cause: for I look not at their Number and Power so much, as I weigh their Reason and Justice.

Had the two Houses first sued out their livery, and once effectually redeemed themselves from the Wardship of the Tumults; (which can bee no other then the Hounds that attend the crie and hollow of those Men, who hunt after Factions, and private Designs, to the ruine of Church and State.)

Did My Judgment tell Mee, that the Propositions sent to Mee were the Results of the Major part of their Votes, who exercise their freedom, as well as they have a



right to sit in Parliament, I should then suspect My own judgment, for not speedily and fully concurring with everie one of them.

For I have charitie enough to think, there are wise men among them; and humilitie to think, that, as in som things I may want; so 'tis fit I should use their advise, which is the end for which I called them to a Parliament, But yet I cannot allow their wisdom such a completeness and inerrabilitie as to exclude My self; since none of them hath that Part to Act, that Trust to discharge, nor that Estate and Honor to preserv, as My self; without whose Reason concurrent with their's (as the Sun's influence is necessarie in all nature's productions) they cannot beget, or bring forth anie one complete and autoritative Act of Publick wisdom, which make's the Laws.

But the unreasonableness of som Propositions is not more evident to Mee then this is, That they are not the joint and free desires of those in their Major number, who are of right to Sit and Vote in Parliament.

For manie of them savor verie strong of that old leaven of Innovations masked under the name of Reformation; which, in My two last famous Predecessor's daies, heaved at, and somtimes threat'ned both Prince and Parliaments: But, I am sure, was never wont so far to infect the whole mass of the Nobilitie

litie and Gentrie of this Kingdom; however it dispersed among the Vulgar: Nor was it likelie so suddenly to taint the Major part of both Houses, as that they should unanimously desire, and affect so enormous and dangerous Innovations in Church and State, contrarie to their former education, practice, and judgment.

Not that I am ignorant, how the choise of manie Members was carried by much faction in the Countries; som thirsting after nothing more, then a passionate revenge of what ever displeasure they had conceived against Mee, My Court, or the Clergie.

But all Reason bid's Mee impure these sudden and vast desires of change to those few, who armed themselvs with the manie-headed, and manie-handed Tumults.

No less doth Reason, Honor, and Safetie both of Church and State command Mee, to chew such morsels, before I let them down; If the straitness of My Conscience will not give Mee leav to swallow down such Camels of Sacriledg and Injustice both to God and man, as others do; they have no more caus to quarrel with Mee, then for this, that My throat is not so wide as their's. Yet, by God's help, I am resolved, That nothing of Passion, or Peevishness, or List to contradict, or Vanitie to shew My Negative power, shall have

have anie bias upon My judgment, to make Mee gratifie My will, by denying anie thing, which My Reason and Conscience command's Mee not.

Nor on the other side, will I consent to more then Reason, Justice, Honor, and Religion perswade Mee, to bee for God's glorie, the Church's good, My People's welfare, and My own peace.

I will studie to satisfie my Parliament and My People; but I will never, for fear, or flatterie, gratifie anie Faction, how potent soever; for this were to nourish the disease, and oppress the bodie.

Although manie men's loyaltie and prudence are terrified from giving Mee that free and faithful counsel, which they are able and willing to impart, and I may want; yet none can hinder Mee from craving of the counsel of that mightie Counsellor, who can both suggest what is best, and incline My heart stedfastly to follow it.

*O thou first and eternal Reason, whose wisdom is fortified with omnipotencie, furnish thy Servant, first, with clear discoveries of Truth, Reason, and Justice, in My understanding: then so confirm My will and resolution to adhere to them, that no terrors, injuries, or oppressions of My Enemies may ever enforce Mee against those rules, which*  
*thou*

thou by them hast planted in My Conscience.

Thou never madest Mee a King, that I should be less then a man; and not dare to saie, Yea, or Nay, as I see caus; which freedom is not denied to the meanest creature, that hath the use of Reason and libertie of speech.

Shall that bee blameable in Mee, which is commendable veracitie and constancie in others?

Thou see'st, O Lord, with what partialitie and injustice they denie that freedom to Mee their KING, which thou hast giv'n to all Men; and which Themselves pertinaciously challenge to themselves; while they are so tender of the least breach of their priviledges.

To Thee I make my supplication, who can'st guide us by an unerring rule, through the perplexed Labyrinths of our own thoughts, and other men's proposals; which, I have som caus to suspect, are purposely cast as snares, that by My granting or denying them, I might bee more entangled in those difficulties, wherewith they lie in wait to afflict Mee.

O Lord, make thy waie plain before Mee.

Let not My own sinful passions cloud or divert thy sacred suggestions:

Let thy glorie bee My end; thy word My rule; and then thy will be don.

I cannot pleas all, I care not to pleas som men; If I may bee happie to pleas thee, I need not fear whom I displeas.

Thou



Thou that makest the wisdom of the world foolishness, and takest in their own devices such as are wise in their own conceits, make Mee wise by thy truth, for thy honor, My Kingdom's general good, and My own soul's salvation, and I shall not much regard the world's opinion or diminution of Mee.

The less wisdom they are willing to impute to Mee, the more they shall bee convinced of thy wisdom directing Mee, while I denie nothing fit to bee granted, out of crossness or humor, nor grant anie thing which is to bee denied, out of anie fear or flatterie of men.

Suffer Mee not to bee guiltie or unhappie, by willing or inconsiderate advancing anie men's designs, which are injurious to the publick good, while I confirm them by My consent.

Nor let Mee bee anie occasion to hinder or defraud the publick of what is best, by anie morose or pervers dissentings.

Make Mee so humbly charitable, as to follow their advice, when it appears to bee for publick good; of whose affections to Mee I have yet but few evidences to assure Mee.

Thou canst as well bless honest errors, as blast fraudulent counsels.

Since wee must give an account of everie evil and idle word in private at thy Tribunal; Lord make Mee careful of those solemn Declarations of My minde, which are like to have the greatest influence

influence upon the Publick, either for me, or weal.

The leſſ others conſider what they aſk, make mee the more ſollicitous what I anſwer.

Though Mine own, and My people's preſſures are grievous, and peace would bee verie pleaſing; yet, Lord, never ſuffer mee to avoid the one, or purchaſe the other, with the leaſt expenſ or waſte of My Conſcience; whereof thou, O Lord, onely art deſervedly more Maſter then My ſelf.

## 12. Upon the Rebellion and troubles in Ireland.

THE Commotions in Ireland were ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that it was hard at firſt either to diſcern the riſe, or applie a remedie to that precipitant Rebellion.

Indeed, that ſea of blood, which hath there been cruelly and barbarouſly ſhed, is enough to drown anie man in eternal both infamie and miſerie, whom God ſhall finde the malicious Autor or Inſtigator of its effuſion.

It fell out as a moſt unhappie advantage to ſom men's malice againſt mee; that when they had impudence enough to laie anie thing to My charge, this bloodie opportunitie ſhould bee offered them, with which I muſt bee aſperſed: Although there was nothing which

which could bee more abhorred to Mee, bee-  
ing so full of sin against God, disloyaltie to  
My self, and destructive to My Subjects.

Som men took it verie ill not to bee be-  
lieved, when they affirmed, that what the  
Irish Rebels did, was don with My privitie  
(at least,) if not by My Commission: But  
these knew too well, that it is no news for  
som of My Subjects to fight, not onely with-  
out My Commission, but against My Com-  
mand and Person too; yet all the while to  
pretend, they fight by My Autoritie, and for  
My Safetie.

I would to God the Irish had nothing to  
allegd for their imitation against those,  
whose blame must needs bee the greater, by  
how much Protestant Principles are more  
against all Rebellion against Princes, then  
those of Papists. Nor will the goodness of  
men's intentions excuse the scandal and con-  
tagion of their Examples.

But who ever fail of their Dutie toward  
Mee, I must bear the blame; this Honor My  
Enemies have alwaies don Mee, to think mo-  
derate injuries not proportionate to Mee, nor  
competent trials, either of My patience under  
them, or My pardon of them.

Therefore, with exquisite malice, they  
have mixed the gall and vinegar of falsitie  
and contempt, with the cup of My Affliction,  
Charging

Charging mee not onely with untruths, but such, as wherein I have the greatest share of loss and dishonor by what is committed; whereby (in all Politic, Reason, and Religion; having least caus to give the least consent, and most grounds of utter detestation) I might be represented by them to the world the more inhumane and barbarous: Like som Cyclopick monster, whom nothing will serv to eat and drink, but the flesh and blood of My own Subjects; in whose common welfare My interest lie's as much as som men's doth in their perturbations: who think they cannot do well but in evil times; not so cunningly as in laying the *Odium* of those sad events on others, wherewith themselves are most pleased, and whereof they have been not the least occasion.

And, certainly, 'tis thought by manie wise men, that the preposterous rigor and unreasonable severitie, which som men carried before them in *England*, was not the least incentive that kindled and blew up into those horrid flames, the sparks of discontent, which wanted not pre-disposed fewel for Rebellion in *Ireland*, where, despair being added to their former discontents, and the fears of utter extirpation to their wonted oppressions, it was easie to provoke, to an open Rebellion, a people prone enough



to break out to all exorbitant violence, both by som Principles of their Religion, and the natural desires of libertie; both to exempt themselves from their present restraints, and to prevent those after-rigors, wherewith they saw themselves apparently threat'ned, by the covetous zeal, and uncharitable furie of som men, who think it a great Argument of the truth of their Religion to endure no other but their own.

God know's, as I can with Truth wash My hands in Innocencie, as to anie guilt in that Rebellion; so I might wash them in My Tears, as to the sad apprehensions I had, to see it spread so far, and make such waste. And this in a time; when distractions and jealousies here in *England* made most men rather intent to their own safetie, or designs they were driving, then to the relief of those, who were everie daie inhumanely butchered in *Ireland*: Whose tears and blood might, if nothing else, have quenched, or, at least, for a time, repressed and smothered those sparks of Civil dissentions and Jealousies, which in *England* som men most industriously scattered.

I would to God no man had been less affected with *Ireland's* sad estate then My self; I offered to go My self in Person upon that expedition; But som men were either afraid

I should

I should have anie one Kingdome quieted; or loth they were to shoot at anie mark here less then My self; or that anie should have the glorie of My destruction, but themselves. Had My manie offers been accepted, I am confident, neither the ruine had been so great; nor the calamitie so long; nor the remedie so desperate.

So that, next to the sin of those, who began that Rebellion, their's must needs bee, who either hindered the speedie suppressing of it by Domestick dissensions, or diverted the Aids, or exasperated the Rebels to the most desperate resolutions and actions, by threat'ning all extremities, not onely to the known heads and chief incendiaries, but even to the whole communitie of that Nation; Resolving to destroye Root and Branch, men, women, and children, without anie regard to those usual pleas for mercie, which Conquerers, not wholly barbarous, are wont to hear from their own breasts, in behalf of those, whose oppressive fears, rather then their malice, engaged them; or whose imbecillitie for Sex and Age was such, as they could neither lift up a hand against them, nor distinguish between their right hand and their left: Which preposterous, and (I think) un-evangelical Zeal is too like that of the rebuked Disciples, who would go no lower in

their revenge, then to call for fire from Heaven upon whole Citties, for the repulf or neglect of a few; or like that of *Jacob's* fons, which the Father both blamed and cursed: chusing rather to use all extremities which might drive men to desperate obstinacie, then to applie moderate remedies; such as might punish som with exemplarie Justice, yet disarm others, with tenders of Mercie upon their submission, and our protection of them from the furie of those, who would soon drown them, if they refused to swim down the popular stream with them.

But som kinde of zeal count's all merciful moderation, luke-warmness; and had rather bee cruel, then counted cold; and is not seldom more greedie to kill the Bear for his skin, then for anie harm hee hath don. The confiscation of men's Estates beeing more beneficial, then the charitie of saving their Lives, or reforming their Errors.

When all proportionable succours of the poor Protestants in *Ireland* (who were daily massacred and over-borne with numbers of now desperate Enemies) were diverted and obstructed here, I was earnestly entreated and generally advised, by the chief of the Protestant partie there, to get them som respite and breathing by a Cessation; without which they saw no probabilitie (unless by miracle) to preserve

serv the remnant that had yet escaped : God know's, with how much Commiseration and solicitous Caution I carried on that business, by Persons of Honor and Integrity; that so I might neither encourage the Rebel's insolencie, nor discourage the Protestant's Loyaltie and Patience.

Yet, when this was effected in the best sort that the necessitie and difficultie of affairs would then permit, I was then to suffer again in My Reputation and Honor; becaus I suffered not the Rebels utterly to devour the remaining handfuls of the Protestants there.

I thought, that in all reason, the gaining of that respite could not bee so much to the Rebel's advantages (which som have highly calumniated against Mee) as it might have been for the Protestant's future, as well as present safetie; if, during the time of that Cessation, som men had had the grace to have lai'd *Ireland's* sad condition more to heart; and lai'd aside those violent motions, which were here carried on by those, that had better skill to let blood then to stanch it.

But in all the mis-constructions of My actions, (which are prone to finde more credulitie in men to what is fals and evil, then love or charitie to what is true and good)



as I have no Judg but God above Mee, so I can have comfort to appeal to his omniscience, who doth not therefore denie My Innocence, becauf he is pleased so far to trie My patience, as he did his servant *Job's*.

I have enough to do to look to My own Conscience, and the faithful discharge of My Trust as a KING; I have scarce leisure to consider those swarms of reproaches, which issue out of som men's mouths and hearts, as easily as smoak or sparks do out of a fornace; Much less to make such prolix Apologies, as might give those men satisfaction: who, conscious to their own depth of wickedness, are loth to believ anie man not to bee as bad as themselves.

'Tis Kinglie to do well, and hear ill: If I can but act the one, I shall not much regard to bear the other.

I thank God I can hear with patience, as bad as my worst enemies can falsely saie. And, I hope, I shall still do better then they desire, or deserv I should.

I believ it will at last appear, that they who first began to embroil My other Kingdoms, are in great part guiltie; if not of the first letting out, yet of the nottimelie stopping those horrid effusions of blood in *Ireland*.

Which (whatever My enemies pleas to saie or think) I look upon, as that of My other  
King-

Kingdoms, exhausted out of My own veins; no man beeing so much weak'ned by it, as My self: And, I hope, though men's unfatigable cruelties never will, yet the mercie of God will at length saie to his justice, *It is enough*: and command the Sword of Civil Warrs to sheath it self: His merciful justice intending, I trust, not our utter confusion, but our cure; the abatement of our sins, not the desolating of these Nations.

*O my God, let those infinite mercies prevent us once again, which I and My Kingdoms have formerly abused, and can never deserv should bee restored.*

*Thou see'st how much crueltie among Christians is acted under the color of Religion; as if wee could not bee Christians, unless wee crucifie one another.*

*Because wee have not more loved thy Truth, and practised in charitie; thou hast suffered a spirit of error and bitterness, of mutual and mortal hatred to rise among us.*

*O Lord, forgive wherein wee have sinned; and sanctifie what we have suffered.*

*Let our Repentance bee our recoverie; as our great sins have been our ruine.*

*Let not the miseries, I and my Kingdoms have hitherto suffered, seem small to thee: but make our sins appear to our consciences, as they are repre-*

sented in the glass of thy judgments; for thou never punishest small failings with so severe Afflictions.

O therefore, according to the multitude of thy great Mercies, pardon our sins, and remoov thy Judgments which are verie manie and verie heavie.

Yet let our sins bee ever more grievous to us, then thy Judgments; and make us more willing to repent, then to bee relieved: first give us the Peace of penitent consciences, and then the Tranquillitie of united Kingdoms.

In the sea of our Saviour's blood drown our sins; and, through this red sea of our own blood, bring us at last to a state of Pietie, Peace, and Plentie.

As My publick relations to all make Mee share in all My Subject's sufferings; so give Mee such a pious sens of them, as becom's a Christian King, and a loving Father of My People.

Let the scandalous and unjust reproaches cast upon Mee bee as a breath, more to kindle my compassion; Give Mee grace to heape charitable coals of fire upon their heads to melt them, whose malice or cruel Zeal hath kindled or hindred the quenching of those flames, which have so much wasted My three Kingdoms.

O rescue and assist those poor Protestants in Ireland, whom thou hast hitherto preserved:

And lead those in the waies of thy saving Truths, whose ignorance or errors have filled them

them with rebellious and destructive principles; which they act under an opinion, That they do thee good service.

Let the hand of thy Justice bee against those, who maliciously and despitefully have raised or fomented those cruel and desperate Wars.

Thou that art far from destroying the Innocent with the Guiltie, and the Erroneous with the Malitious; Thou that had'st pittie on Nineveh for the manie Children that were therein, give not over the whole stock of that populous and seduced Nation, to the wrath of those, whose covetousness make's them cruel; nor to their anger, which is too fierce; and therefore justly cursed.

Preserv, if it bee thy will, in the mid'st of the forname of thy severe Justice a Posteritie which may praise thee for thy Mercie;

And deal with Mee, not according to man's unjust reproaches, but according to the innocencie of My hands in thy sight.

If I have desired or delighted in the woful daie of My Kingdom's calamities; if I have not earnestly studied and faithfully endeavoured the preventing and composing of these bloodie distractions; then let thy hand bee against Mee, and My Father's house. O Lord, thou see'st I have enemies enough of men; as I need not, so I should not dare thus to imprecate thy curse on Mee and Mine, if My Conscience did not witness My Integrity, which thou O Lord knowest right well; But I trust



*trust not to My own merit, but thy mercies; spare us, O Lord, and bee not angrie with us for ever.*

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*13. Upon the Calling in of the Scots, and their Comming.*

**T**He *Scots* are a Nation, upon whom I have not onely common ties of Nature, Sovereigntie, and Bountie, with My Father of blessed memorie; but also special and late obligations of favors, having gratified the active Spirits among them so far, that I seemed, to manie, to prefer the desires of that Partie, before My own interest and Honor. But, I see, Royall bountie embolden's som men to ask and act beyond all bounds of modestie and gratitude.

My charitie, and Act of Pacification forbid's Mee to reflect on former passages; wherein I shall ever bee far from letting anie man's ingratitude or inconstancie make Mee repent of what I granted them for the publick good: I praie God it may so proov.

The comming again of that Partie into *England*, with an Armie, onely to conform this Church to their late New model, cannot but seem as unreasonable, as they would have thought the same measure offered from hence to themselves.

Other

Other errand I could never understand they had, (besides those common and vulgar flourishes for Religion and Libertie ) save onely to confirm the Presbyterian Copie they had set, by making this Church to write after them, though it were in bloodie Characters.

Which design and end, whether it will justify the use of such violent means, before the divine Justice, I leav to their Consciences to judg, who have alreadie felt the miserie of the means; but not reaped the benefit of the end, either in this Kingdom, or that.

Such knots and crosness of grain beeing objected here, as will hardly suffer that form which they crie up, as the onely just reformation and setting of Government and Discipline in Churches, to go on so smoothly here, as it might do in *Scotland*; and, was by them imagined would have don in *England*, when so manie of the *English* Clergie, through levitie, or discontent, if no worse passion, suddenly quitted their former engagements to Episcopacie, and faced about to their Presbyterie.

It cannot but seem either passion, or some self-seeking, more then true Zeal and pious Discretion, for anie forrein State or Church to prescribe such medicines onely for others, which themselvs have used, rather successfully

fully then commendably; not considering that the same Physick on different constitutions will have different operations; That may kill one, which doth but cure another.

Nor do I know anie such tough and malignant humors in the constitution of the *English* Church, which gentler applications, then those of an Armie, might not easily have removed: Nor is it so proper to hew out religious Reformations by the Sword, as to polish them by fair and equal disputations among those that are most concerned in the differences; whom not Force, but Reason ought to convince.

But their design now seemed rather to cut off all disputation here, then to procure a fair and equal one: For it was concluded there, that the *English* Clergie must conform to the *Scot's* pattern before ever they could bee heard what they could saie for themselvs, or against the other's waie.

I could have wish'd fairer proceedings both for their credits, who urge things with such violence; and for other men's Consciences too; who can receiv little satisfaction in these points, which are maintained rather by Souldier's fighting in the Fields, then Scholar's disputing in free and learned Synods.

Sure, in matters of Religion those truths gain most on men's Judgments and Consciences,

ences, which are least urged with secular violence, which weaken's Truth with prejudices; and is unreasonable to bee used, till such means of rational conviction have been applied, as, leaving no excuse for ignorance, condemn men's obstinacie to deserved penalties.

Which no charitie will easily suspect of fanaticie learned and pious Church-men in *England*, who, bee ing alwaies bred up & conformable to the Government of Episcopacie, cannot so soon renounce both their former opinion and practice, onely becaus that Partie of the *Scots* will needs by force assist alike Partie here, either to drive all Ministers, as sheep into the common fold of Presbyterie, or destroe them; at least flecte them, by depriving them of the benefit of their Flocks. If the *Scotch* sole Presbyterie were proved to bee the onelie institution of Jesus Christ, for all Churches Government; yet I believ it would bee hard to proov, that Christ had given those *Saats*, or anie other of My Subjects, Commission by the Sword to set it up in anie of my Kingdoms; without My Consent.

What respect and obedience Christ and his Apostles paid to the chief Governors of States, where they lived, is verie clear in the Gospel; but, that hee, or they ever commanded



manded to set up such a paritie of Presbyters, and in such a waie as those *Scots* endeavor, I think is not verie disputable.

If Presbyterie in such a supremacie bee an institution of Christ, sure it differ's from all others; and is the first and onely point of Christianitie, that was to be planted and watered with so much Christian blood; whose effusion run's in a stream so contrarie to that of the Primitive Planters, both of Christianitie and Episcopacie, which was with patient shedding of their own blood, not violent drawing other men's. Sure there is too much of Man in it, to have much of Christ; none of whose institutions were carried on, or begun with the temptations of Covetousness or Ambition; of both which this is vehemently suspected.

Yet was there never anie thing upon the point, which those *Scots* had by Armie or Commissioners to moov Mee with, by their manie Solemn obtestations and pious threatenings, but onely this; to represent to Mee the wonderful necessitie of setting up their Presbyterie in *England* to avoid the further miseries of a War; which som men chiefly on this design at first had begun, and now further engaged themselvs to continue.

What hinder's that any Sects, Schisms, or Heresies, if they can get but number, strength and

and opportunitie, may not, according to this opinion and pattern, set up their waies by the like methods of violence: all which Presbyterie seek's to suppress and render odious under those names; when wise and learned men think, that nothing hath more marks of Schism and Sectarism, then this Presbyterian waie; both as to the Antient, and still most Universal waie of the Church government; and especially as to the particular Laws and Constitutions of this *English Church*; which are not yett repealed, nor are like to bee for mee, till I see more Rational and Religious motives then Souldiers use to carrie in their Knapsacks?

But wee must leav the success of all to God, who hath manie waies (having first taken us off from the follie of our opinions; and furie of our passion) to teach us these rules of true Reason and peaceable Wisdom; which is from above, tending most to God's glorie; and his Church's good; which I think My self so much the more bound in Conscience to attend with the most judicious Zeal and care; by how much I esteem the Church above the State; the glorie of Christ above mine Own; and the salvation of men's Souls above the preservation of their Bodies and Estates.

Non may any man, I think, without sin and  
pre-

presumption, forcibly endeavour to cast the Churches, under My care and tuition, into the moulds they have fancied and fashioned to their designs, till they have first gained My consent, and resolved both My own and other men's Consciences by the strength of their Reasons.

Other violent motions, which are neither Manlie, Christian, nor Loyal, shall never either shake or unsettle My Religion; nor any man's self, who know's what Religion mean's, and how far it is removed from all Faction, whose proper engine is Force, the arbitrator of beasts, not of reasonable men, much less of humble Christians and loyal Subjects, in matters of Religion.

But men are prone to have such high conceits of themselves, that they care not what cost they lay out upon their opinions; especially those that have som temptation of gain to recompence their losses and hazards. Yet I was not more scandalized at the Scots Armie's coming in against My will, and their forfeiture of so manie obligations of dutie and gratitude to Me, then I wondered, how those here could so much distrust God's assistance; who so much pretended God's Cause to the People, as if they had the certaintie of som divine Revelation; considering they were more then competently furnished  
with

with my Subject's Arms and Ammunition;  
My Navie by Sea; My Forts, Castles, and  
Cities by Land.

But I finde that men jealous of the Justifi-  
ableness of their doings and designs before  
God; never think they have humane strength  
enough to carrie their work on, seem it never  
so plausible to the People; what cannot bee  
justified in Law or Religion, had need be for-  
tified with Power.

And yet such is the inconstancie that at-  
tend's all mindes engaged in violent motion,  
that whom some of them one while earnestly  
invite to com in to their assistance; others  
of them soon after are wearie of; and with  
nauseating cast them out: what one Partie  
thought to rivet to a settledness by the  
strength and influence of the *Scots*, that the  
other reject's and contemn's; at once, despi-  
sing the Kirk-Government and Discipline of  
the *Scots*, and frustrating the success of so  
chargeable more then charitable assistance;  
For, sure the Church of *England* might have  
purchased, at a far cheaper rate, the truth and  
happines of Reformed Government and Di-  
scipline (if it had been wanting) though it  
had entertained the best Divines of Christen-  
dom for their advise in a full and free Synod;  
which I was ever willing to, and desirous  
of, that matters beeing impartially settled,  
H might



might bee more satisfactorie to all, and more durable.

But much of God's justice, and man's follie will at length bee discovered, through all the films and pretensions of Religion, in which Politicians wrap up their designs; in vain do men hope to build their pietie on the ruines of Loyaltie. Nor can those confederations or designs bee durable, when Subjects make bankrupt of their Allegiance, under pretens of setting up a quicker trade for Religion.

But, as My best Subjects of *Scotland* never deserted Mee, so I cannot think that the most are gon so far from Mee, in a Prodigalitie of their love & respects towards Mee, as to make Mee to despair of their return; when, besides the bonds of nature and Conscience, which they have to Mee, all Reason and true Policie will teach them, that their chiefest interest consist's in their fidelitie to the Crown, not in their serviceableness to anie Partie of the People, to a neglect and betraying of My safetie and Honor for their own advantages: However, the less caus I have to trust to men, the more I shall applie My self to God.

*The troubles of My Soul are enlarged; O Lord, bring thou Mee out of My distress.*

*Lord direct thy Servant in the waies of that pious simplicitie, which is the best policie.*

*Deliver*

Deliver Mee from the combined strength of those who have so much of the Serpent's subtiltie, that they forget the Dove's Innocentie.

Though hand join in hand, yet let them not prevail against My soul, to the betraying of My Conscience and Honor.

Thou, O Lord, canst turn the hearts of those Parties in both Nations, as thou didst the men of Judah and Israel, to restore David with as much loyal Zeal, as they did with inconstancie and eagerness pursue Him.

Preserve the love of thy Truth and uprightness in Mee, and I shall not despair of my Subject's affections returning towards Mee.

Thou canst soon cause the overflowing Seas to ebb, and retire back again to the bounds which thou hast appointed for them.

O My God, I trust in thee; let Mee not bee ashamed; let not My enemies triumph over mee.

Let them bee ashamed who transgress without a cause; let them bee turned back that persecute My Soul.

Let integritie and uprightness preserve Mee, for I wait on thee, O Lord.

Redeem thy Church, O God, out of all its Troubles.

H 2

Upon

## 14. Upon the Covenant.

**T**He *Presbyterian Scots* are not to bee hired at the ordinarie rate of Auxiliaries; nothing will induce them to engage, till those that call them in have pawned their Souls to them by a Solemn League and Covenant.

Where manie engines of religious and fair pretensions are brought chiefly to batter, or rase Episcopacie; This they make the grand evil Spirit, which, (with som other Imps purposely added, to make it more odious, and terrible to the Vulgar,) must by so solemn a charm and exorcism bee cast out of this Church, after more then a thousand years possession here, from the first plantation of Christianitie in this Island; and an universal prescription of time and practice in all other Churches, since the Apostle's times, till this last Centurie.

But no Antiquitie must plead for it: Presbyterie, like a young Heir, think's the Father hath lived long enough; and impatient not to bee in the Bishop's Chair & Autoritie (though Lay-men go awaie with the Revenues) all Art is used to sink Episcopacie, and lanch Presbyterie in *England*; which was lately buoyed up in *Scotland* by the like artifice of a Covenant.

Although I am unsatisfied with manie passages

sages in that Covenant (som referring to My self with verie dubious and dangerous limitations) yet I chiefly wonder at the design and drift touching the Discipline and Government of the Church; and such a manner of carrying them on to new waies, by Oaths and Covenants; where it is hard for men to bee engaged by no less, then swearing for, or against those things, which are of no clear moral necessitie; but verie disputable, and controverted among learned and godlie men; whereto the application of Oaths can hardly bee made and enjoined with that judgment, and certaintie in one's self, or that charitie and candor to others of different opinion, as I think Religion require's; which never refuse's fair and equable deliberations; yea, and dissentings too, in matters onely probable.

The enjoining of Oaths upon People must needs in things doubtful bee dangerous; as, in things unlawful, damnable; and no less superfluous, where former religious and legal Engagements bound men sufficiently to all necessarie duties. Nor can I see how they will reconcile such an Innovating Oath and Covenant with that former Protestation, which was so lately taken, to maintain the Religion established in the Church of *England*; since they account Discipline so great a part of Religion.



But ambitious mindes never think they have laid snares & gins enough to catch and hold the Vulgar credulitie: for, by such politick and seemingly pious stratagems, they think to keep the populacie fast to their Parties under the terror of perjurie: Whereas certainly all honest and wise men ever thought themselves sufficiently bound by former ties of Religion, Allegiance, and Laws, to God and man.

Nor can such after-Contracts, devised and imposed by a few men in a declared Partie, without My consent, and without anie like power or precedent from God's or man's laws, bee ever thought by judicious men sufficient either to absolve or slacken those moral and eternal bonds of dutie, which lie upon all My Subject's, consciences both to God and mee.

Yet, as things now stand, good men shall least offend God or mee, by keeping their Covenant in honest and lawfull waies; since I have the charitie to think, that the chief end of the Covenant, in such men's intentions, was, to preserv Religion in Puritie, and the Kingdoms in Peace: To other then such ends and means they cannot think themselves engaged; nor will those, that have anie true touches of Conscience endeavour to carrie on the best designs, (much less such as are, and will bee daily

daily more apparently factious and ambitious) by any unlawful means, under that title of the Covenant : unless they dare prefer ambiguous, dangerous, and unauthorized novelties, before their known and sworn duties, which are indispensable, both to God and My self.

I am prone to believe and hope, That many, who took the Covenant, are yet firm to this judgment, That such later Vows, Oaths, or Leagues can never blot out those former engravings and characters, which by just and lawful Oaths were made upon their Souls.

That which makes such Confederations by way of solemn Leagues and Covenants more to be suspected, is, That they are the common road used in all factious and powerful perturbations of State or Church : where formalities of extraordinary zeal and piete are never more studied and elaborate, then when Politicians most agitate desperate designs against all that is settled, or sacred in Religion, and Laws ; which by such scrues are cunningly, yet forcibly, wrested by secret steps, and less sensible degrees, from their known Rule and wonted Practice, to comply with the humors of those men, who aim to subdue all to their own will and power, under the disguises of Holie Combinations.

Which cords and withs will hold men's

Consciencs no longer, then force attend's  
and twist's them: for everie man soon grow's  
his own Pope, and easily absolvs himself of  
those ties, which not the commands of God's  
Word, or the Laws of the Land, but onely  
the subtiltie and terror of a Partie cast's upon  
him; either superfluous and vain, when they  
were sufficiently tied before; or fraudulent  
and injurious, if by such after-ligaments they  
finde the imposers really aiming to dissolv, or  
suspend their former, just, and necessary ob-  
ligation.

Indeed, such illegal waies seldom, or never,  
intend the engaging men more to Duties, but  
onely to Parties; therefore it is not regarded  
how they keep their Covenants in point of  
pictie pretended, provided they adhere firmly  
to the Partie and Design intended.

I see the Imposers of it are content to make  
their Covenant like Manna (not that it came  
from Heaven, as this did) agreeable to everie  
man's palat and relish, who will but swallow  
it: They admit anie men's senses of it, though  
divers, or contrarie; with anie salvo's, cauti-  
ons and reservations; so as they cross not the  
Chief Design which is laid against the  
Church, and Me.

It is enough if they get but the reputation  
of a seeming encrease to their Partie; so little  
men remember that God is not mocked.

In such latitudes of sense, I believ manie that love mee, and the Church well, may have taken the Covenant, who yet are not so fondly and superstitiously taken by it, as now to act clearly against both all pietie & loyaltie: who first yeilded to it, more to prevent that imminent violence and ruine, which hung over their heads in case they wholly refused it, then for any value of it, or devotion to it.

Wherein, the latitude of som general Clauses may (perhaps) serv somewhat to reliev them; as of *Doing and endeavouring what lawfully they may, in their Places and Callings, and according to the Word of God* for, these (indeed) carrie no man beyond those bounds of good Conscience which are certain and fixed, either in God's Laws, as to the general; or the Laws of the State and Kingdom, as to the particular regulation and exercise of men's duties:

I would to God such as glorie most in the name of *Covenanters*, would keep themselves within those lawful bounds, to which God hath called them. Surely it were the best waie to expiate the rashness of taking it: which must needs then appear, when besides the want of a full and lawful Autoritie at first to enjoin it, it shall actually bee carried on beyond and against those ends which were in it specified and pretended. I willingly forgive  
such



such men's taking the Covenant, who keep it with in such bounds of Pietie, Law, & Loyaltie, as can never hurt either the Church, My self, or the Publick Peace: Against which no man's lawful Calling can engage him.

As for that reformation of the Church, which the Covenant pretends, I cannot think unjust or comly, that by the partial advise of a few Divines, (of so soft and servile tempers, as disposed them to so sudderasing & compliance, contrarie to their former judgments, profession, and practice) such foul scandals and suspitions should bee cast upon the Doctrine and Government of the Church of England, as was never don (that I have heard) by anie that deserved the name of *Reformed Churches* abroad, nor by anie men of learning and candour at home: All whose judgments I cannot but prefer before anie men's now factiously engaged.

No man can bee more forward then My self to learne by all due Reformatiōs, with mature judgment, and a good Conscience, in what things I shall (after impartial advise) bee, by God's Word, and right reason, convinced to bee amiss; I have offered more then ever the fullest, free'st, and wisest Parliaments did desire.

But the sequel of som men's actions make's it evident, that the main Reformation intended,

ded, is the abasing of Episcopacie into Presbyterie, and the robbing the Church of its Lands and Revenues: For, no men have been more injuriously used, as to their legal Rights, then the Bishops and Church-men. These, as the fattest Deer, must bee destroyed: the other Rascal-herd of Schisms, Heresies, &c. being lean, may enioie the benefit of a Toleration: Thus Naboth's Vineyard made him the onely Blasphemer of his Citty, and fit to die: Still I see, while the breath of Religion fill's the Sails, Profit is the Compass, by which Factionous men steer their course in all seditious Commotions.

I thank God, as no man laid more open to the sacrilegious temptation of usurping the Church's Lands and Revenues, (which issuing chiefly from the Crown, are held of it, and legally can revert onely to the Crown, with My Consent) so I have alwaies had such a perfect abhorrence of it in My Soule, that I never found the least inclination to such sacrilegious Reformings: yet no man hath a greater desire to have Bishops and all Church-men so reformed, that they may best deserve and use, not onely what the pious Munificence of My Predecessors hath giv'n to God and the Church, but all other additions of Christian bountie.

But no necessitie shall ever, I hope, drive Me  
or

or Mine to invade or sell the Priest's Lands; which both *Pharaoh's* divinitie, and *Joseph's* true pietie abhorred to do: so unjust I think it, both in the eie of Reason and Religion, to deprive the most sacred emploiment of all due encouragements, and like that other hard-hearted *Pharaoh*, to with-draw the Straw, and encrease the Task; so pursuing the oppressed Church, as *Son* have don, to the red sea of a *Civil War*, where nothing but a miracle can save either It, or Him, who esteems it His greatest Title to bee called, and His chiefest glorie to bee *The Defender of the Church*, both in its true Faith, and its just freedoms; equally abhorring *Sacriledg* and *Apostacie*.  
 I had rather live as My Predecessor *Henry* the third sometime did, on the Church's *Alms*, then violently to take the bread out of *Bishop's* and *Minister's* mouths.  
 The next work will bee *Seroboan's* reformation, consecrating the meanest of the People to bee Priests in *Israel*, to serve those golden Calvs who have enriched themselves with the Church's Patrimonie and Dowrie; which how it thrived both with Prince, Priests & People, is well enough known. And so it will bee here, when, from the tuition of *Kings* and *Queens*, which have been nursing Fathers and Mothers of this Church, it shall bee at their allowance, who have already covered

covered, what hard Fathers and Step-mothers they will bee.

If the povertie of *Scotland* might, yet the plentie of *England* cannot excuse the envie and rapine of the Church's Rights and Revenues.

I cannot so much as praie God to prevent those sad consequences, which will inevitably follow the paritie and povertie of Ministers, both in Church and State; since I think it no less then a mocking and tempting of God, to desire him to hinder those mischiefs, whose occasions and remedies are in our own power; it beeing everie man's sin not to avoid the one, and not to use the other.

There are waies enough to repair the breaches of the State without the ruines of the Church; as I would bee a Restorer of the one, so I would not bee an Oppressor of the other, under the pretens of Publick Debts: The occasions contracting them were bad enough, but such a discharging of them would bee much worf; I praie God neither I, nor Mine, may bee accessorie to either.

To thee, O Lord, do I address My praier, beseeching thee to pardon the rashness of My Subject's Swearings, and to quicken their sens and observation of those just, moral, and indispensable bonds, which thy Word, and the Laws of  
this



this Kingdom have laid upon their Consciences, from which no pretensions of Pietie and Reformation are sufficient to absolv them, or to engage them to any contrarie practices.

Make them at length seriously to consider, that nothing violent and injurious can bee religious.

Thou allowest no man's committing Sacriledg, under the zeal of abhorring Idols.

Suffer not sacrilegious designs to have the countenance of religious Ties.

Thou hast taught us by the wisest of Kings, that it is a sinne to take things that are Holie, and after Vows to make inquirie.

Ever keep thy servant from consenting to perjurious and sacrilegious rapines, that I may not have the brand and curse to all posteritie of robbing Thee and thy Church, of what thy bountie hath given us, and thy clemencie accepted from us, wherewith to encourage Learning and Religion.

Though My Treasures are Exhausted, My Revenues Diminished, and My Debts Increased, yet never suffer mee to bee tempted to use such profane Reparations; lest a coal from thine Altar set such a fire on My Throne and Conscience as will bee hardly quenched.

Let not the debts & engagements of the Publick, which some men's follie & prodigalitie hath contracted, bee an occasion to impoverish thy Church.

The State may soon recover, by thy blessing of Peace upon us; the Church is never likely, in  
times;

times, where the Charitie of most men is grown so cold, and their Religion so illiberal.

Continue to those that serv Thee and thy Church all those encouragements, which, by the will of the pious Donors, and the Justice of the Laws, are due unto them; and give them grace to deserve and use them aright to thy glorie, and the relief of the poor; that thy Priests may bee clothed with righteousness, and the poor may bee satisfied with bread.

Let not Holie things bee giu'n to Swine, nor the Churche's bread to Dogs; rather let them go about the Cittie, grin like a Dog, and grudge that they are not satisfied.

Let those Sacred morsels, which som men have already by violence devoured, never digest with them, nor their's; let them bee as Naboth's Vineyard to Ahab, gall in their Mouths, rottenness to their Names, a moth to their Families, and a sting to their Consciences.

Break in sunder, O Lord, all violent and sacrilegious Confederations to do wickedly and injuriously.

Divide their hearts and tongues who have banded together against the Church and State; that the follie of such may bee manifest to all men, and proceed no further.

But so favor my righteous dealing, O Lord, that, in the Mercies of thee the most High, I may never miscarry.

15. Upon the *various Jealousies raised, and Scandals cast upon the KING, to stir up the People against Him.*

**I**F I had not My own Innocencie, and God's protection, it were hard for Mee to stand out against those stratagems and conflicts of malice, which by Falsities seek to oppress the Truth; and by Jealousies to supplie the defect of Real causes, which might seem to justify so unjust Engagements against Mee.

And indeed, the worst effects of open Hostilitie com short of these designs: For, I can more willingly lose My Crowns, then My Credit; nor are My Kingdoms so dear to Mee, as My Reputation and Honor.

Those must have a period with My life; but these may survive to a glorious kinde of Immortalitie, when I am dead and gon: A good Name beeing the embalming of Princes, and a sweet consecrating of them to an Eternitie of love and gratitude among Posteritie.

Those foul and fals aspersions were secret engines at first employed against My People's love of Mee: that, undermining their opinion and value of Mee, My enemies; and their's too, might at once blow up their affections, and batter down their Loyaltie.

Wherein

Wherein yet, I thank God, the detriment of My Honor is not so afflictive to Mee, as the sin and danger of My people's souls; whose eyes once blinded with such mists of suspicions, they are soon mis-led into the most desperate precipices of actions; wherein they do not onely not consider their sin and danger, but glorie in their zealous adventures; while I am rendred to them so fit to bee destroyed, that manie are ambitious to merit the name of My Destroyers; Imagining they then fear God most, when they least honor their King.

I thank God, I never found but My pittie was above My anger; nor have My passions ever so prevailed against Mee, as to exclude My most compassionate praiers for them, whom devout errors, more then their own malice have betrayed to a most religious Rebellion.

I had the Charitie to interpret, that most part of My Subjects fought against My supposed Errors, not My Person; and intended to mend Mee; not to end Mee: And, I hope, that God, pardoning their Errors, hath so far accepted and answered their good intentions, that as hee hath yet preserved Mee, so hee hath by these afflictions prepared Mee, both to do him better service, and My people more good, then hitherto I have don.



I do not more willingly forgive their seductions, which occasioned their loyal Injurie, then I am ambitious by all Princely merits to redeem them from their unjust suspitions, and reward them for their good intentions.

I am too conscious to My own Affections toward the generalitie of My people, to suspect theirs to Mee; nor shall the malice of My Enemies ever bee able to deprive Mee of the comfort, which that confidence give's Mee; I shall never gratifie the spightfulness of a few with anie sinister thought of all their Allegiance, whom pious frauds have seduced.

The worst of men's ambition can do, shall never perswade Mee to make so bad interpretations of most of My Subject's actions; who possibly may bee Erroneous, but not Heretical in point of Loyaltie.

The sens of the Injuries don unto my Subjects is as sharp, as those don to My self; our welfares beeing inseparable; in this onely they suffer more then My self, that they are animated by som seducers to injure at once both themselves and Mee.

For this is not enough to the malice of My Enemies, that I bee afflicted; but it must bee don by such instruments, that My afflictions griev Mee not more, then this doth, that I am afflicted by those, whose prosperitie I earnestly

ly desire, and whose seduction I heartily deplore.

If they had been My open and forsaigh Enemies, I could have born it; but they must bee My own Subjects, who are, next to My Children, dear to Me: and for the restoring of whose tranquillitie, I could willingly bee the *Jonah*, if I did not evidently fore-see, that by the divided Interests of their and Mine Enemies, as by contrarie windes, the storm of their miseries would bee rather increased then allaid.

I had rather prevent My people's ruine then Rule over them; nor am I so ambitious of that Dominion, which is but My Right, as of their happiness; if it could explate or countervail such a way of obtaining it, by the highest injuries of Subjects committed against their Sovereign.

Yet I had rather suffer all the miseries of life, and die manie deaths, then shamefully to desert, or dishonorably to betraie My own just Rights and Sovereigntie; thereby to gratifie the ambition, or justifie the malice of My Enemies; between whose malice, and other men's mistakes, I put as great a difference, as between an ordinarie Ague and the Plague; or the Itch of Novelty, and the Leprosie of Disloyaltie.

As Liars need have good Memories, so Ma-

litious persons need good inventions; that their calumnies may fit everie man's fancie; and, what their repoaches want of truth, they may make up with number and shew.

My patience (I thank God) will better serve Mee to bear, and My charitie to forgive, then My leisure to answer the manie false Aspersions which some men have cast upon Mee.

Did I not more consider My Subject's Satisfaction, then My own Vindication, I should never have giv'n the malice of some men that pleasure, as to see Mee take notice of, or remember what they saie, or object.

I would leave the Autors to be punished by their own evil manners and seared Consciences, which will, I believe, in a shorter time then they be aware of, both confute and revenge all those black, and false Scandals which they have cast on Mee; And make the world see, there is as little truth in them, as there was little worth in the broaching of them; or Civilitie, (I need not saie Loyaltie) in the not-suppressing of them; whose credit and reputation, even with the people, shall ere long be quite blasted by the breath of that same furnace of Popular-obloquie and detraction, which they have studied to heat and inflame to the highest degree of infamie, and wherein they have sought to cast and consume My Name and Honor.

First,

First, nothing gave Mee more caus to suspect and search My own Innocencie, then when I observed so manie forward to engage against Mee, who had made great professions of singular pietie; For this gave to vulgar mindes so bad a reflection upon Mee, and My Caus, as if it had been impossible to adhere to Mee, and not withal part from God; to think or speak well of Mee, and not to blaspheme him; so manie were perswaded that these two were utterly inconsistent, to bee at once Loyall to Mee, and truly Religious toward God.

Not but that I had ( I thank God ) manie with Mee, which were both Learned and Religious, (much above that ordinarie size, and that vulgar proportion, wherein som men glorie so much) who were so well satisfied in the caus of My sufferings, that they chose rather to suffer with Mee, then forsake Mee.

Nor is it strange that so Religious Pretensions, as were used against Mee, should bee to manie well-minded men a great temptation to oppose Mee; Especially, beeing urged by such Popular Preachers, as think it no sin to lie for God, and what they pleas to call Gods Caus, cursing all that will not curf with them; looking so much at, and crying up the goodness of the end propounded, that they consider not the lawfulness of the means used,



nor the depth of the mischief, chiefly plotted and intended.

The weaknes of these mens judgments must be made up by their clamors & activitie.

It was a great part of som mens Religion to scandalize Mee and Mine; they thought theirs could not bee true, if they cried not down Mine as fals.

I thank God, I have had more triall of his grace, as to the constancie of My Religion in the Protestant Profession of the Church of *England*, both abroad and at home, then ever they are like to have.

Nor do I know anie exception, I am so liable to, in their opinion, as too great a fixedness in that Religion, whose judicious and solid grounds, both from Scripture, and Antiquitie, will not give My Conscience leav to approve, or consent to those manie dangerous and divided Innovations, which the bold Ignorance of som men would needs obtrude upon Mee, and My People.

Contrarie to those well tried foundations both of Truth, and Order, which men of far greater Learning, and clearer Zeal, have settled in the Confession & Constitution of this Church in *England*; which manie former Parliaments in the most calm, and unpassionate times, have oft confirmed; In which I shall ever, by Gods help, persevere, as believing

lieving it hath most of Primitive Truth and Order.

Nor did My using the assistance of som Papists, which were My Subjects, anie waie fight against My Religion, as som men would needs interpret it: especially those who least of all men cared whom they emploied, or what they said, & did, so they might prevail.

'Tis strange that so wise men, as they would bee esteemed, should not conceiv, That differences of perswasion in matters of Religion may easily fal out, where there is the sameness of dutie, Allegiance, and subjection. The first they own as men, and Christians to God; the second, they ow to Mee in common, as their K I N G. Different professions in point of Religion cannot (anie more then in civil Trades) take away the communitie of relations either to Parents, or to Princes: And where is there such an *Oglis* or medly of various Religions in the world again, as those men entertain in their service (who finde most fault with Mee) without anie scruple, as to the divetsitie of their Sects and Opinions?

It was, indeed, a foul and indelible shame, for such as would bee counted Protestants, to enforce Mee, a declared Protestant, their Lord and King, to a necessarie use of Papists, or anie other, who did but their dutie to help Mee to defend My self.

Nor did I more then is lawful for anie King, in such exigents to use the aid of anie his Subjects.

I am sorrie the Papists should have a greater sens of their Allegiance, then manie Protestant-Professors; who seem to have learned, and to practise the worst Principles of the worst Papists.

Indeed, it had been a verie impertinent and unseasonable scruple in Mee, (and verie pleasing no doubt to My Enemies) to have been then disputing the points of different beliefs in My Subjects, when I was disputed with by Sword's points: and when I needed the help of My Subjects as men, no less then their praier as Christians.

The nois of My *Evil Counsellors* was another useful devise for those, who were impatient anie men's counsels, but their own, should bee followed in Church and State; who were so eager in giving Mee better counsel, that they would not give Mee leav to take it with freedom, as a Man; or honor, as a King; making their counsels more like a Drench that must bee powred down, then a draught which might bee fairly and leasurely drunk, if I liked it.

I will not justifie, beyond humane errors and frailties My self, or My Counsellors: They might bee subject to som miscarriages,  
yet

yet such as were far more reparable by second and better thoughts, then those enormous extravagances, wherewith som men have now even wild' red, and almost quite lost both Church and State.

The event of things at last will make it evident to My Subjects, that, had I followed the worst Counsels, that My worst Counsellors ever had the boldness to offer to Mee, or My self anie inclination to use, I could not so soon have brought both Church and State in three flourishing Kingdoms, to such a *Chaos* of confusions and Hell of miseries, as som have don; out of which they cannot, or will not, in the mid'st of their manie great advantages, redeem either Mee or My Subjects.

No Men were more willing to complain, then I was to redress what I saw in Reason was either don or advised amiss; and this I thought I had don, even beyond the expectation of moderate men; who were sorrie to see Mee prone even to injure My self, out of a zeal to reliev My Subjects.

But other men's insatiable desire of revenge upon Mee, My Court, and My Clergie, hath wholly beguiled both Church and State, of the benefit of all My, either Retractions, or Concessions; and, withal, hath deprived all those (now so zealous Persecutors)



tors) both of the comfort and reward of their former pretended persecutions, wherein they so much gloried among the vulgar ; and which, indeed, a truly humble Christian will so highly prize, as rather not to bee relieved, then bee revenged, so as to bee bereaved of that Crown of Christian Patience, which attend's humble and injured sufferers.

Another artifice used to with-draw My People's affections from Mee, to their designs, was, The nois and ostentation of *Libertie*, which men are not more prone to desire, then unapt to bear in the Popular sens; which is to do what everie man liketh best.

If the Divinest libertie bee to will what men should, and to do what they so will, according to Reason, Laws, and Religion, I envie not My Subjects that libertie, which is all I desire to enjoie My self ; so far am I from the desire of oppressing their's : Nor were those Lords and Gentlemen which assisted Mee so prodigal of their liberties, as with their Lives and Fortunes to help on the enslaving of themselvs and their posterities.

As to Civil Immunities, none but such as desire to drive on their Ambitious and Covetous designs over the ruines of Church and State, Prince, Peers, and People, will ever desire greater Freedoms then the Laws allow ; whose bounds good men count their

Ornament and Protection; others their Manacles and Oppression.

Nor is it just anie man should expect the reward and benefit of the Law, who despiseth it's rule and direction; losing justly his Safetie while hee seek's an unreasonable Libertie.

Time will best inform My Subjects, that those are the best preservers of their true Liberties, who allow themselvs the least licentiousness against, or beyond the Laws.

They will feel it at last to their cost, that it is impossible those men should bee really tender of their fellow-subject's liberties, who have the hardiness to use their King with so severe restraints, against all Laws, both Divine and Humane; under which, yet, I will rather perish, then complain to those, who want nothing to compleat their mirth and triumph, but such musick.

In point of true conscientious tenderness (attended with humilitie and meekness, not with proud & arrogant activitie, which seek's to hatch everie egg of different opinion to a Faction or Schism) I have oft declared, how little I desire My Laws and Scepter should intrench on God's Sovereigntie, which is the onely King of men's consciences; and yet hee hath lai'd such restraints upon men, as command them to bee subject for Conscience sake,

fake, giving no men libertie to break the Law established, further then with meekness and patience they are content to suffer the penalties annexed, rather then perturb the Publick Peace.

The truth is, som men's thirst after Novel-  
ties, other's despair to relieve the necessities of  
their Fortunes, or satisfie their Ambition, in  
peaceable times, (distrusting God's provi-  
dence, as well as their own merits) were the  
secreet (but principal) impulsives to these Po-  
pular Commotions, by which Subjects have  
been perswaded to expend much of those  
plentiful estates they got, and enjoied under  
My Government, in peaceable times; which  
yet must now bee blasted with all the odious  
reproaches, which impotent malice can in-  
vent; and My self exposed to all those con-  
tempts, which may most diminish the Maje-  
stie of a King, and increas the ungrateful in-  
solencies of My People.

For Mine Honor; I am well assured, that  
as Mine Innocencie is clear before God, in  
point of anie calumnies they object; so My  
Reputation shall, like the Sun (after Owls and  
Bats have had their freedom in the night and  
darker times) rise and recover it self to such a  
degree of splendor, as those feral birds shall  
bee grieved to behold, and unable to bear.  
For never were anie Princes more glorious,  
then

then those whom God hath suffer'd to be tried in the furnace of afflictions by their injurious Subjects.

And who know's but the just and merciful God will do Mee good, for som men's hard, fals, and evil speeches against Mee; wherein they speak rather what they wish, then what they believ, or know.

Nor can I suffer so much in point of Honor, by those rude and scandalous Pamphlets (which, like fire, in great conflagrations, flie up and down to set all places on like flames) as those men do, who, pretending to so much pietie, are so forgetful of their Dutie to God and Mee; By no waie ever vindicating the Majestie of their K I N G against anie of those, who contrarie to the precept of God, and precedent of Angels, *speake evil of dignities, and bring railing accusations against those,* who are honored with the name of Gods.

But 'tis no wonder, if men not fearing God should not Honor their K I N G.

They will easily contemn such shadows of God, who reverence not that Supreme, and Adorable Majestie, in comparison of whom all the glorie of Men and Angels is but obscuritie, yet hath hee graven such Characters of divine Autoritie, and Sacred Power upon Kings, as none may without sin seek to blot them out. Nor shall their black veils bee able

to



to hide the shining of My face, while God give's Mee a heart frequently and humbly to convers with him, from whom alone are all the irradiations of true glorie and majestie.

*Thou, O Lord, knowest My reproach, and My dishonor, My Adversaries are all before thee.*

*My Soul is among lions, among them that are set on fire, even the Sons of Men; whose teeth are spears and arrows; their tongue a sharp sword.*

*Mine enemies reproach Mee all the day long, and those that are mad against Mee are sworn together.*

*O My God, how long shall the sons of men turn My glorie into shame? how long shall they love vanitie, and seek after lies?*

*Thou hast heard the reproaches of wicked men on everie side. Hold not thy peace, lest My enemies prevail against Mee, and laie Mine Honor in the dust.*

*Thou, O Lord, shalt destroy them that speak lies: the Lord will abhor both blood-thirstie, and deceitful men.*

*Make My righteousness to appear as the light, and Mine innocencie to shine forth as the Sun at noon daie.*

*Suffer not My silence to betray Mine innocence, nor My displeasure My patience; That, after My Saviors example, beeing reviled, I may not revile again; and, beeing cursed by them, I may bless them.*

*Thou that would'st not suffer Shimei's tongue*

to go unpunished; when by thy judgments on David hee might seem to justifie his disdainful reproaches, give mee grace to intercede with thy mercie for these My enemies; that the reward of fals and lying tongues, even hot burning coals of eternal fire, may not bee brought upon them.

Let My prayers, and patience, bee as water to cool and quench their tongues, who are already set on fire with the fire of Hell, and tormented with those malicious flames.

Let mee bee happie to refute, and put to silence their evil-speaking by word-doing, and let them enjoy not the fruit of their lips, but of My prayer for their repentance, and thy pardon.

Teach mee David's patience and Hezekiah's devotion, that I may look to thy mercie through man's malice, and see thy justice in their sin.

Let Sheba's seditious speeches, Rabshakeh's railing, and Shimci's cursing, provoke, as My humble prayer to thee, so thy renewed blessing toward mee.

Though they curse, do thou bless, and I shall bee blessed, and made a blessing to My people.

That the stone, which some builders refuse, may become the head-stone of the corner.

Look down from heaven, and save mee, from the reproach of them that would swallow mee up.

Hide mee in the secret of thy presence, from the pride of man, and keep mee from the strife of tongues.

16. *Upon the Ordinance against the Common-  
Praier-Book.*

**I**T is no news to have all Innovations ushered in with the name of Reformation in Church and State, by those, who, seeking to gain reputation with the Vulgar for their extraordinary parts and pietie, must needs undo what ever was formerly settled never so well and wisely.

So hardly can the pride of those that studie Novelties allow former times anie share or degree of wisdom or godliness.

And becaus matter of praier and devotion to God justly bear's a great part in Religion, (beeing the Soul's more immediate convers with the Divine Majestie) nothing could bee more plausible to the People then to tell them, They served God amiss in that point.

Hence our publick Liturgie, or Forms of constant Praiers must bee not amended (in what upon free and publick advise might seem to sober men inconvenient for matter or manner, to which I should easily consent) but wholly cashiered and abolished; and, after manie Popular contempts offered to the Book, and those that used it according to their Consciences and the Laws in force, it must bee crucified by an Ordinance, the  
better

better to pleas either those men, who gloried in their extemporarie vein and fluencie; or others, who conscious to their own formalitie in the use of it, thought they fully expiated their sin of not using it aright, by laying all the blame upon it, and a total rejection of it as a dead letter, thereby to excuse the deadness of their hearts.

As for the matter contained in the Book, sober and learned men have sufficiently vindicated it against the cavils and exceptions of those, who thought it a part of pietie to make what profane objections they could against it, especially for Poperie and Superstition; whereas no doubt the Liturgie was exactly conformed to the doctrine of the Church of *England*; and this, by all Reformed Churches is confessed to bee most sound and Orthodox.

For the manner of using Set and Prescribed Forms, there is no doubt but that wholesome words, being known and fitted to men's understandings, are soonest received into their hearts, and aptest to excite and carrie along with them judicious and fervent affections.

Nor do I see any reason why Christians should bee wearie of a well-composed Liturgie (as I hold this to bee) more then of all other things, wherein the Conscience abate's nothing of the excellencie and usefulness.



I could never see anie Reason, why anie Christian should abhor, or bee forbidden to use the same Forms of praier, since hee praies to the same God, believ's in the same Saviour, professeth the same Truths, read's the same Scriptures, hath the same duties upon him, and feel's the same dailie wants for the most part, both inward and outward, which are common to the whole Church.

Sure, wee may as well before-hand know what wee praie; as to whom wee praie; and in what words, as to what sens; when wee desire the same things, what hinder's wee may not use the same words: our appetite and digestion too may bee good when wee use, as wee praie for, *Our dailie bread.*

Som men, I hear, are so impatient not to use in all their devotions their own invention and gifts, that they not onely dis-use (as too manie) but wholly cast away and contemn the *Lord's Praier*; whose great guilt is, that it is the warrant and original pattern of all set Liturgies in the Christian Church.

I ever thought that the proud ostentation of men's abilities for invention, and the vain affectations of varietie for expressions, in Publick Praier, or anie Sacred Administrations, merit's a greater brand of sin, then that which they call Coldness and Barrenness: Nor are men in those Novelties less subject to formal

and

and superficial tempers (as to their hearts) then in the use of constant Forms, where not the words, but men's hearts are too blame.

I make no doubt but a man may bee verie formal in the most extemporarie varietie; and verie fervently devout in the most wonted expressions: Nor is God more a God of varietie, then of constancie: Nor are constant Forms of Praiers more likelie to flat and hinder the Spirit of Praier and Devotion, then un-premeditated and confused varietie to distract and lose it.

Though I am not against a grave, modest, discreet, and humble use of Minister's gifts, even in Publick, the better to fit and excite their own, and the People's affections to the present occasions; yet I know no necessitie why private and single abilities should quite justle out, and deprive the Church of the joint abilities and concurrent gifts of manie learned and godlie men; such as the Composers of the Service-Book were; who may in all reason bee thought to have more of gifts & graces enabling them to compose with serious deliberation & concurrent advise, such Forms of praiers, as may best fit the Church's common wants, inform the Hearer's understanding, and stir up that fiduciarie and fervent application of their spirits (wherein consist's the verie life and soul of praier, and that so

much pretended Spirit of Praier) then anie private man by his solitarie abilities can bee presumed to have; which, what they are manie times (even there, where they made a great nois and shew) the affectations, empti-  
ness, impertinencie, rudeness, confusions, flat-  
ness, levitie, obscuritie, vain and ridiculous repetitions; the senseless, and oft-times blas-  
phemous expressions; all these burthened with a most tedious and intolerable length, do sufficiently convince all men, but those who glorie in that Pharisaick waie. Wherein men must bee strangely impudent, and flatterers of themselves, not to have an infinite shame of what they so do and saie, in things of so sacred a nature, before God and the Church; after so ridiculous, and, indeed, profane a manner.

Nor can it bee expected, but that, in duties of frequent performance, as Sacramental administrations, and the like, which are still the same, Ministers must either com to use their own Forms constantly, which are not like to bee so sound, or comprehensive of the nature of the dutie, as forms of Publick composure; or elf they must everie time affect new expressions when the subject is the same; which can hardly bee presumed in anie man's greatest sufficiencies not to want (manie times) much of that compleatness, order, and gravi-  
tie,

tie, becomming those duties; which by this means are exposed at everie celebration to everie Minister's private infirmities, indispositions, errors, disorders, and defects, both for judgment, and expression.

A serious sens of which inconvenience, in the Church, unavoidably following everie man's severall manner of officiating; no doubt, first occasioned the wisdom and pietie of the Antient Churches, to remedie those mischiefs, by the use of constant Liturgies of Publick compofure.

The want of which I believ this Church will sufficiently feel, when the unhappie fruits of manie men's un-govern'd ignorance, and confident defects, shall bee discovered in more errors, schisms, disorders, and uncharitable distractions in Religion, which are already but too manie, the more pittie.

However, if violence must needs bring in, and abett those Innovations, (that men may not seem to have nothing to do) which Law, Reason, and Religion forbid, at least to be so obtruded, as wholly to juttle out the Publick Liturgie: Yet nothing can excuse that most unjust and partial severitie of those men, who either lately had subscribed to, used, and maintained the Service book; or, refusing to use it, cried out of the rigor of Laws and Bishops, which suffered them not to use the li-



bertie of their Consciences, in not using it.

That these men (I saie) should so suddenly change the Liturgie into a *Directorie*, as if the Spirit needed help for invention, though not for expressions; or as if matter prescribed did not as much stint and obstruct the Spirit, as if it were clothed in, and confined to fit words: (So slight and easie is that Legerdemain which will serv to delude the vulgar.) That further, they should use such severitie as not to suffer, without penaltie, anie to use the Common-Praier-Book publickly, (although their Consciences binde them to it, as a Dutie of Pietie to God, and Obedience to the Lawes.) —————

Thus I see, no men are prone to bee greater Tyrants, and more rigorous exacters upon others to conform to their illegal novelties, then such, whose pride was formerly least disposed to the obedience of lawful Constitutions; and whose licentious humors most pretended Conscientious liberties; which freedom, with much regret, they now allow to Mee, and My Chaplains, (when they may have leav to serv Mee,) whose abilities, even in their extemporarie waie com's not short of the other's, but their modestie and learning far exceed's the most of them.

But this matter is of so Popular a nature, as som men knew it would not bear learned and  
sober

sober debates, lest, beeing convinced by the evidence of Reason, as well as Laws, they should have been driv'n either to sin more against their knowledg, by taking awaie the Liturgie; or to displeas som faction of the people by continuing the use of it.

Though I believ they have offended more considerable men, not onely for their numbers and estate, but for their weightie and judicious pietie, then those are, whose weakness or giddiness they sought to gratifie by taking it awaie.

One of the greatest faults som men found with the Common-Praier-Book, I believ, was this, That it taught them to praie so oft for Mee; to which Petitions they had not Loyaltie enough to saie *Amen*, nor yet Charitie enough to forbear Reproaches, and even Cursings of Mee in their own forms, in stead of praying for Mee.

I wish their Repentance may bee their onely punishment; that, seeing the mischiefs which the disuse of publick Liturgies hath already produced, they may restore that credit, use, and reverence to them, which by the antient Churches were giv'n to Set Forms of sound and wholsom words.

*And thou, O Lord, who art the same God, blessed for ever; whose mercies are full of varietie,*

and yet of constancie; Thou deniest us not a new and fresh sense of our old and dailie wants; nor despisest renewed affections joined to constant expressions.

Let us not want the benefit of thy Church's united and wel-advised Devotions.

Let the matters of our prayers bee agreeable to thy will, which is alwaies the same; and the fervencie of our spirits to the motions of thy holie Spirit in us.

And then wee doubt not, but thy spiritual perfections are such, as thou art neither to bee pleased with affected Novelties for matter or manner, nor offended with the pious constancie of our petitions in them both.

Whose varietie or constancie thou hast no where either forbidden, or commanded, but left them to the pietie or prudence of thy Church, that both may bee used, neither despised.

Keep men in that pious moderation of their judgments in matters of Religion, that their ignorance may not offend others, nor their opinion of their own abilities tempt them to deprive others of what they may lawfully and devoutly use, to help their infirmities.

And since the advantage of Error consist's in Noveltye & varietie, as Truth's in unitie and Constancie; Suffer not thy Church to bee pestered with errors, and deformed with undecencies in thy service, under the pretens of varietie and noveltye; Nor to bee deprived of truth, unitie, and order,

under this fallacie, That Constancie is the Cause of Formalitie.

Lord keep us from formal Hypocrisie in our own hearts, and then wee know that praying to thee, or praising of thee (with David, and other holie men) in the same forms cannot hurt us.

Give us wisdom to amend what is amiss within us, and there will bee less to amend without us.

Evermore defend and deliver thy Church from the effects of blinde zeal, and over-bold devotion.

Of the differences between the KING and the two Houses, in point of Church-Government.

**T**OUCHING the GOVERNMENT of the Church by Bishops, the common Jealousie hath been, that I am earnest and resolute to maintain it, not so much out of Pietie, as Policie and reason of State.

Wherein so far indeed reason of State doth induce mee to approve that Government above anie other, as I finde it impossible for a Prince to preserv the State in quiet, unless hee hath such an influence upon Church-men; and they such a dependance on Him, as may best restrain the seditious exorbitancies of Ministers



Ministers tongues; who with the Keies of Heaven have so far the Keies of the People's hearts, as they prevail much by their Oratorie to let in, or shut out, both Peace and Loyaltie.

So that, beeing (as KING) entrusted by God, and the Laws, with the good both of Church and State, I see no Reason I should give up, or weaken, by anie change, that power and influence which in right and reason I ought to have over both.

The mooving Bishops out of the House of Peers (of which I have elsewhere given an account) was sufficient to take off anie suspicion, that I incline to them for anie use to bee made of their Votes in State-affairs: Though indeed I never thought anie Bishop worthie to sit in that House, who would not Vote according to his Conscience.

I must now in Charitie bee thought desirous to preserv that Government in its right constitution, as a matter of Religion, wherein both My judgment is fully satisfied, that it hath of all other the fullest Scripture-grounds, & also the constant practice of all Christian Churches; til, of late years, the tumultuariness of People, or the factiousness and pride of Presbyters, or the covetousness of some States and Princes, gave occasion to some men's wits to invent new models, and propose them under specious titles of *Christ's Government*,

*Scepter,*

*Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, the better to serv  
their turns, to whom the change was bene-  
ficial.

They must give Mee leav, having none of  
their temptations to invite Meeto alter the  
Government of Bishops, (that I may have a  
titleto their Estates) not to believ their pre-  
tended grounds to anie new waies; contrarie to  
the full, and constant testimonie of all Histo-  
ries, sufficiently convincing unbiaffed men;  
that as the Primitive Churches were undou-  
btedly governed by the Apostles and their  
immediate Successors the first & best Bishops,  
so it cannot in reason or charitie bee supposed,  
that all Churches in the world should either  
bee ignorant of the Rule by them prescribed,  
or so soon deviate from their divine and holie  
pattern : That since the first Age, for  
1500 years, not one Example can bee pro-  
duced of anie settled Church, wherein  
were manie Ministers and Congregations,  
which had not som Bishop above them,  
under whose jurisdiction and government  
they were.

Whose constant and universal practise a-  
greeing with so large and evident Scripture-  
directions & examples, as are set down in the  
Epistles to *Timothie* and *Titus*, for the settling  
of that Government, not in the persons onely  
of *Timothie* and *Titus*, but in the succession;  
the

(the want of Government beeing that, which the Church can no more dispens with, in point of wel-beeing, then the want of the Word and Sacraments, in point of beeing.) I wonder how men came to look with so envious an eie upon Bishop's power and autoritie, as to overlee both the Ecclesiastical use of them, and Apostolical constitution; which to Mee seem's no less evidently set forth, as to the main scope and design of those Epistles, for the settling of a peculiar Office, Power, and Autoritie in them as President-Bishops above others, in point of Ordination, Censures, and other Acts of Ecclesiastical discipline, then those shorter characters of the qualities & duties of Presbyter-Bishops, and Deacons, are described in som parts of the same Epistles; who in the latitude and communitie of the name were then, and may now not improperly bee call'd *Bishops*; as to the over-sight and care of single Congregations, committed to them by the Apostles, or other Apostolical Bishops, who (as *Timothie* and *Titus*) succeeded them in that ordinarie power, there assigned over large divisions, in which were manie Presbyters.

The humilitie of those first Bishops avoiding the eminent title of Apostles, as a name in the Church's style appropriated from its common notion (*of a Messenger, or one sent*) to that

that special dignitie which hath extraordinarie call, mission, gifts, and power immediately from Christ, they contented themselves with the ordinarie titles of Bishops and Presbyters, until *use* (the great Arbitrator of words, and Master of language) finding reason to distinguish, by a peculiar name, those persons, whose power and office were indeed distinct from, and above all other in the Church, as succeeding the Apostles in the ordinarie and constant power of governing the Churches, (the honor of whose name they modestly, yet commendably declined, all Christian Churches submitting to that special autoritie) appropriated also the name of *Bishop*, without anie suspicion or reproach of arrogancie, to those, who were by Apostolical propagation rightly descended and invested into that highest and largest power of governing even the most pure and Primitive Churches: which, without all doubt, had manie such holie Bishops, after the pattern of *Timothæe* and *Titus*; whose special power is not more clearly set down in those Epistles (the chief grounds and limits of all Episcopal claim, as from Divine right) then are the characters of these perilous times, and those men that make them such; who, not enduring sound doctrine and clear testimonies of all Churches practice, are most pervers Disputers,



ters, and proud Usurpers, against true Episcopacie: who, if they bee not Traitors and Boasters, yet they seem to bee verie covetous, headie, high-minded, inordinate and fierce, lovers of themselves, having much of the form, little of the power of Godliness.

Who, by Popular heaps of weak, light, and unlearned Teachers, seek to overlaid and smother the pregnancie and autoritie of that power of Episcopal Government, which, beyond all equivocation and vulgar fallacie of names, is most convincingly set forth, both by Scripture, and all after-Histories of the Church.

This I write rather like a Divine, than a Prince, that Posteritie may see (if ever these Papers bee publick) that I had fair grounds both from Scripture-Canons, and Ecclesiastical Examples, whereon My judgment was stated for Episcopal Government.

Nor was it anie Policie of State, or obstinacie of will, or partialitie of affection, either to the men, or their Function, which fixed Mee; who cannot in point of worldlie respects be so considerable to Mee, as to recompens the injuries and losses I, and My dearest relations with My Kingdoms, have sustained and hazarded, chiefly at first upon this Quatrel.

And not onely in Religion, of which Scripture

pture is the best Rule, & the Church's Universal practise the best Commentarie, but also in right reason, and the true nature of Government, it cannot bee thought that an orderlie Subordination among Presbyters or Ministers, should bee anie more against Christianitie, then it is in all Secular and Civil Governments, where Paritie breed's Confusion and Faction.

I can no more believ, that such order is inconsistent with true Religion, then good features are with beautie, or numbers with harmonie.

Nor is it likelie that God, who appointed severall Orders, and a Prelacie, in the Government of his Church amongst the Jewish Priests, should abhor, or forbid them among Christian Ministers; who have as much of the Principles of Schism and Division, as other men; for preventing and suppressing of which, the Apostolical wisdom (which was Divine) after that Christians were multiplied to manie Congregations, and Presbyters with them, appointed this waie of Government, which might best preserv Order and Union with Autoritie.

So that I conceiv it was not the favor of Princes, or ambition of Presbyters, but the wisdom and pietie of the Apostles, that first settled Bishops in the Church; which Autoritie

ritie they constantly used and enjoied in those times, which were purest for Religion, though sharpest for Persecution.

Not that I am against the managing of this Presidence and Autoritie in one man, by the joint-Counsel and consent of manie Presbyters: I have offered to restore that, as a means to avoid those Errors, Corruptions, and Partialities which are incident to anie one man: also to avoid Tyrannie, which becom's to Christians, least of all Church-men, besides, it will bee a means to take away that Burden and *odium* of Affairs, which may lie too heauiy on one man's shoulders; as, indeed, I think it formerly did on the Bishops here.

Nor can I see what can bee more agreeable both to Reason and Religion, then such a frame of Government which is Paternal, not Magisterial; and wherein not onely the necessitie of avoiding Faction and Confusion, Emulations and Contempts, which are prone to arise among equals in power and function, but also the difference of som Minister's gifts, and aptitudes for Government above others, doth invite to emploie them, in reference to their Abilities, wherein they are eminent.

Nor is this judgment of Mine, touching Episcopacie, anie pre-occupation of opinion, which will not admit anie oppositions against

It: It is well known I have endeavoured to satisfy My self in what the chief Patrons for other waies can saie against this, or for their's: And I finde, as they have far less of Scripture-grounds, and of Reason; so of examples, and practice of the Church, or testimonies of Histories they are wholly destitute; wherein the whole stream run's so for Episcopacie, that there is not the least rivulet for anie others.

As for those obtruded examples of some late reformed Churches, (for manie retain Bishops still) whom necessitie of times and affairs rather excuseth, then commendeth for their inconformitie to all Antiquitie; I could never see anie reason why Churches orderly reformed and governed by Bishops should bee forced to conform to those few, rather then to the Catholick example of all Antient Churches, which needed no Reformation: And those Churches at this daie, who, Governed by Bishops in the Christian world, are manie more then Presbyterians or Independents can pretend to bee; All whom the Churches in My three Kingdoms lately governed by Bishops, would equalize, (I think) if not exceed.

Nor is it anie point of wisdom or charitie, where Christians differ, (as manie do in some points) there to widen the differences, and at once to give all the Christian world (except a



handfull of som Protestants ) so great a scandall in point of Church-government; whom, though you may convince them of their Errors in som points of Doctrine, yet you shall never perswade, that, to complete their Reformation, they must necessarily desert, and wholly cast off that Government, which they, and all before them have ever owned as Catholick, Primitive, and Apostolical: So far, that never Schismatics, nor Hereticks, (except those Aërians) have strayed from the Unitie, and Conformitie of the Church in that point; ever having Bishops above Presbyters.

Besides, the late general approbation and submission to this Government of Bishops, by the Clergie, as well as the Laitie of these Kingdoms, is a great confirmation of My Judgment; and their inconstancie is a great prejudice against their Noveltie; I cannot in charitie so far doubt of their learning or integritie, as if they understood not what heretofore they did, or that they did conform contrarie to their Consciences; So that their facilitie and levitie is never to bee excused, who, before ever the point of Church-government had anie free and impartial debate, contrarie to their former Oaths and practice, against their obedience to the Laws in force, and against My consent, have not only quite cried  
down

down the government by Bishops, but have approved and encouraged the violent and most illegal stripping all the Bishops, and manie other Church-men, of all their due Autoritie and Revenues, even to the selling awaie, and utter alienation of those Church-lands from anie Ecclesiastical uses: So great a power hath the stream of times, and the prevalencie of parties, over som men's judgments; of whose so sudden and so total change little reason can bee giv'n, besides the *Scot's* Armie comming into *England*.

But the follie of these men will at last punish it self, and the Desertors of Episcopacie will appear the greatest Enemies to, and betraiers of their own interest: for Presbyterie is never so considerable, or effectual, as when it is joined to, and crowned with Episcopacie. All Ministers will finde as great a difference, in point of thriving, between the favor of the People, and of Princes, as plants do between beeing watered by hand, or by the sweet and liberal dews of Heaven.

The tenuitie and contempt of Clergie-men will soon let them see, what a poor carcass they are, when parted from the influence of that Head, to whose Supremacie they have been sworn.

A little moderation might have prevented great mischiefs; I am firm to Primitive

Episcopacie, not to have it extirpated, (if I can hinder it.) Discretion without passion might easily reform, whatever the rust of times, or indulgence of Laws, or corruption of manners have brought upon it. It beeing a gross vulgar error to impute to, or revenge upon the Function, the faults of times, or persons; which seditious and popular principle and practice all wise men abhor.

For those secular additaments and ornaments of Autoritie, Civil Honor, and Estate, which My Predecessors, and Christian Princes in all Countries have annexed to Bishops and Church-men; I look upon them, but as just rewards of their learning and pietie, who are fit to bee in anie degree of Church-Government; also enablements to works of Charitie & Hospitalitie; meet strengthenings of their Autoritie in point of respect and observance; which in peaceful times is hardly paid to anie Governors by the measure of their virtues, so much as by that of their Estates: Povertie and meanness exposing them and their Autoritie to the contempt of licentious mindes and manners, which persecuting Times much restrained.

I would have such men Bishops, as are most worthie of those encouragements, and best able to use them: if at anie time My judgment of men failed, My good intention made My  
error

error venial : and som Bishops, I am sure, I had, whose learning, gravitie, and pietie, no men of anie worth or forehead can denie:but, of all men, I would have Church-men, especially the Governors, to bee redeemed from that vulgar neglect ; which (besides an innate principle of vitious opposition, which is in all men against those that seem to reprov, or restrain them) will necessarily follow both the Presbyterian paritie, which make's all Ministers equal; and the Independent inferioritie, which set's their Pastors below the People.

This for My judgment touching Episcopacie : wherein (God know's) I do not gratifie anie design or passion with the least perverting of Truth.

And now I appeal to God above, and all the Christian world, whether it bee just for Subjects, or pious for Christians, by violence and infinite indignities, with servile restraints to seek to force Mee their K I N G and Sovereign, as som men have endeavoured to do, against all these grounds of My judgment, to consent to their weak and divided Novelties.

The greatest Pretender of them desire's not more then I do, That the Church should bee governed, as Christ hath appointed, in true Reason, and in Scripture ; in which I could never see anie probable shew for anie other waies : who either content themselvs with



the examples of som Churches in their infancie and solitude, when one Presbyter might serv one Congregation in the Cittie or Countrie; or elf denie these most evident Truths, That the Apostles were Bishops over those Presbyters they ordained, as well as over the Churches they planted; and that Government beeing necessarie for the Churches wel-beeing, when multiplied and sociated, must also necessarily descend from the Apostles to others, after the example of that power and superioritie they had above others; which could not end with their persons; since the use and ends of such Government still continue.

It is most sure, that the purest, primitive, and best Churches flourished under Episcopacie; and may so still, if ignorance, superstition, avarice, revenge, and other disorderlie and disloyal passions had not so blown up som men's mindes against it, that, what they want of Reason or Primitive Patterns, they supplie with violence and oppression; wherein som men's zeal for Bishop's-Land, Houses, and Revenues hath set them on work to eat up Episcopacie: which (however other men esteem) to Mee is no less sin, then Sacriledg; or a robbetrie of God (the giver of all wee have) of that portion which devout mindes have thankfully given again to him, in giving it to  
his

his Church and Prophets ; through whose hands hee graciously accept's even a cup of cold water, as a libation offered to himself.

Furthermore, as to My particular engagement above other men, by an Oath agreeable to My judgment, I am solemnly obliged to preserv that Government, and the Rights of the Church.

Were I convinced of the unlawfulness of the Function, as Antichristian, (which some men boldly, but weakly calumniate) I could soon, with Judgment, break that Oath, which erroneously was taken by Mee.

But beeing daily, by the best disquisition of truth, more confirmed in the Reason and Religion of that to which I am Sworn ; how can anie man that wisheth not My damnation, perswade Mee at once to so notorious and combined sins, of Sacriledg and Perjurie : besides the manie personal Injustices I must do to manie worthie men, who are as legally invested in their Estates, as anie, who seek to deprive them ; and they have by no Law been convicted of those crimes, which might forfeit their Estates and Livelie-hoods.

I have oft wondred how men pretending to tenderness of Conscience, and Reformation, can at once tell Mee, that My Coronation-Oath bind's Mee to Consent to whatsoever they shall propound to Mee, (which they urge

with such violence) though contrarie to all that Rational and Religious freedom which everie man ought to preserv ; and of which they seem so tender in their own Votes ; yet, at the same time, these men will needs perswade Mee, That I must, and ought to dispens with, and roundly break that part of My Oath, which binde's Mee (agreeable to the best light of Reason and Religion I have) to maintain the Government and legal Rights of the Church. 'Tis strange, My Oath should bee valid in that part, which both My self and all men in their own case, esteem injurious and unreasonable, as beeing against the verie natural and essential libertie of our souls ; yet it should bee invalid, and to bee broken in another claus, wherein I think My self justly obliged, both to God, and Man.

Yet upon this Rack chiefly have I been held so long, by som men's ambitious Covetousness and Sacrilegious Crueltie, torturing (with Mee) both Church and State, in Civil dissensions ; till I shall bee forced to consent, and declare that I do approov, what (God know's) I utterly dislike, and in My Soul abhor ; as manie waies highly against Reason, Justice, and Religion: and whereto if I should shamefully and dishonorably give My consent, yet should I not, by so doing, satisfie the divided Interests and Opinions of those Parties,

Parties, which contend with each other, as well as both against Mee, and Episcopacie.

Nor can My late condescending to the *Scots*, in point of Church-government, bee rightly objected against Mee, as an inducement for Mee to consent to the like in My other Kingdoms: For it should bee considered that Episcopacie was not so rooted and settled there, as 'tis here; nor I (in that respect) so strictly bound to continue it in that Kingdom, as in this; for, what I think in My judgment best, I may not think so absolutely necessarie for all places, and at all times.

If anie shall impute My yielding to them, as My failing and sin, I can easily acknowledg it; but that is no argument to do so again, or much worse; I beeing now more convinced in that point: nor indeed hath My yielding to them been so happie and successful as to encourage Mee to grant the like to others.

Did I see anie thing more of Christ, as to Meekness, Justice, Order, Charitie, and Loyaltie in those that pretend to other *modes* of Government, I might suspect My judgment to bee biassed, or fore-stalled with som prejudice and wontedness of opinion; but I have hitherto so much cause to suspect the contrarie in the manners of manie of those men, that I cannot from them gain the least reputation  
for



for their new waies of Government.

Nor can I finde that in anie Reformed Churches (whose patterns are so cried up and obruded upon the Churches under My Dominion) either Learning or Religion, works of Pietie or Charitie, have so flourished beyond what they have don in My Kingdoms (by God's blessing) which might make Mee believ either Presbyterie or Independencie have a more benign influence upon the Church and men's hearts and lives, then Episcopacie in it's right Constitution.

The abuses of which, deserv to bee extirpated, as much as the use retained; for I think it far better to hold to Primitive and Uniform Antiquitie, then to complie with divided Noveltye.

A right Episcopacie would at once satisfie all just desires and interests of good Bishops, humble Presbyters, and sober People; so as Church-affairs should bee managed, neither with Tyrannie, Paritie, nor Popularitie; neither Bishops ejected, nor Presbyters despised, nor People oppressed.

And in this integritie, both of My Judgment and Conscience, I hope God will preserv Mee.

*For Thou, O Lord, knowest my uprightness and tenderneß; as thou hast set Mee to bee a Defen-*  
dor

dor of the Faith, and a Protector of thy Church ; so suffer Mee not, by anie violence, to bee over-born against My Conscience.

Arise, O Lord, maintain thine own Cause ; let not thy Church bee deformed, as to that Government, which, derived from thy Apostles, hath been reteined in purest and primitive Times, till the Revenues of the Church became the object of Secular envie ; which seek's to rob it of all the encouragements of Learning and Religion.

Make Mee, as the good Samaritan, compassionate, and helpful to thy afflicted Church ; which som men have wounded and robbed ; others pass by without regard, either to pittie, or reliev.

As My power is from thee, so give Mee grace to use it for thee.

And though I am not suffered to bee Master of My other Rights, as a KING ; yet preserv Mee in that libertie of Reason, love of Religion, and thy Church's welfare, which are fixed in My Conscience, as a Christian.

Preserv, from Sacrilegious invasions, those temporal blessings, which thy Providence hath bestowed on thy Church for thy glorie.

Forgive their sins and errors, who have deserved thy just permission, thus to let in the wilde Bear and subtil Foxes, to waste and deform thy Vineyard, which thy right hand hath planted, and the dew of Heaven so long watered to a happie and flourishing estate.

O Let

*O Let Mee not bear the infamous brand to all Posteritie, of beeing the first Christian King in this Kingdom, who should consent to the oppression of thy Church, and the Fathers of it; whose errors I would rather, with Constantine, cover with silence, and reform with meekness, then expose their Persons, and sacred Functions, to vulgar contempt.*

*Thou, O Lord, see'st how much I have suffered with, and for thy Church; make no long tarrying O my God, to deliver both Mee, and it, from unreasonable men; whose counsels have brought forth, and continue such violent confusions, by a precipitant destroying the antient boundaries of thy Church's peace; thereby letting in all manner of errors, schisms, and disorders.*

*O thou God of Order, and of truth, in thy good time, abate the malice, assuage the rage, and confound all the mischievous devises of thine, mine, and thy Church's enemies:*

*That I, and all that love thy Church, may sing praises to thee, and ever magnifie thy salvation; even before the sons of men.*

### 18. Upon Uxbridg-Treatie, and other Offers made by the KING.

**I** Look upon the waie of Treaties, as a retiring from fighting like Beasts, to arguing like Men; whose strength should bee more in their understandings, then in their limbs.

And

And though I could seldom get opportunities to Treat, yet I never wanted either desire or disposition to it; having greater confidence of My Reason, then My Sword: I was so wholly resolved to yeeld to the first, that I thought neither My self, nor others, should need to use the second, if once wee rightly understood each other.

Nor did I ever think it a diminution of Mee, to prevent them with Expresses of My desires, and even importunities to Treat: It beeing an office, not onely of humanitie, rather to use Reason, then Force; but also of Christianitie, to *seek peace and ensue it.*

• As I was verie unwillingly compell'd to defend My self with Arms; so I verie willingly imbraced anie thing tending to peace.

The events of all War by the Sword beeing verie dubious; and of a Civil War, uncomfortable; the end hardly recompensing, and late repairing the mischief of the means.

Nor did anie success I had ever enhance with Mee the price of Peace, as earnestly desired by Mee as anie man; though I was like to paie dearer for it, then anie man: All that I sought to reserv, was Mine Honor, and My Conscience; the one I could not part with, as a KING; the other, as a Christian.

The Treatie at *Uxbridg* gave the fairest hopes of an happie composure; had others applied



applied themselves to it with the same moderation, as I did, I am confident the War had then ended.

I was willing to condescend, as far as Reason, Honor, and Conscience, would give Mee leav; nor were the remaining differences so essential to My People's happiness, or of such consequence, as in the least kinde to have hindered My Subject's either securitie, or prosperitie; for they better enjoyed both, manie years, before ever those demands were made; som of which to denie, I think the greatest Justice to My self, and favor to My Subjects.

I see, Jealousies are not so easily allaiied, as they are raised: Som men are more afraid to retreat from violent Engagements, then to Engage: what is wanting in equitie, must bee made up in pertinacie. Such as had little to enioie in peace, or to lose in war, studied to render the verie Name of *Peace* odious and suspected.

In Church-affairs, where I had least libertie of prudence, having so manie strict Ties of Conscience upon Mee, yet I was willing to condescend so far to the settling of them, as might have given fair satisfaction to all men, whom faction, covetousness, or superstition had not engaged more, then anie true zeal, charitie, or love of Reformation.

I was

I was content to yeeld to all that might seem to advance true pietie; I onely sought to continue what was necessarie in point of Order, Maintenance, and Autoritie to the Churches Government, and what I am perswaded (as I have elsewhere set down My thoughts more fully) is most agreeable to the true Principles of all Government, raised to its full stature and perfection; as also to the Primitive-Apostolical pattern, and the practice of the Universal Church conformed thereto.

From which wholly to recede, without anie probable reason urged or answered, onely to satisfie som men's wils and phantasies (which yet agree not among themselvs in anie point, but that of extirpating Episcopacie, and fighting against Mee) must needs argue such a softness, and infirmitie of minde in Mee, as will rather part with God's Truth, then Man's Peace, and rather lose the Churches honor, then crosse som men's Factionous humors.

God know's, and time will discover, who were most too blame for the un-succesfulness of that Treatie, & who must bear the guilt of after-calamities. I believ, I am verie excusable both before God, and all unpassionate men, who have seriously weighed those transactions, wherein I endeavoured no less the restoration of Peace to My people, then the preservation

vation of My own Crowns to My posteritie.

Som men have that height, as to interpret all fair Condescendings, as Arguments of feebleness; and glorie most in an unflexible stiffness, when they see others most supple and inclinable to them.

A grand Maxim with them was alwaies to ask somthing, which in reason and honor must bee denied, that they might have som color to refuse all that was in other things granted; setting Peace at as high a rate, as the worst effects of War; endeavouring first to make Mee destroe My self by dishonorable concessions, that so they might have the less to do.

This was all which that Treatie, or anie other produced, to let the world see, how little I would denie, or they grant, in order to the Publick Peace.

That it gave occasion to som men's further restiveness, is imputable to their own depraved tempers, not to anie Concessions, or Negations of Mine: I have alwaies the content of what I offered; and they the regret and blame for what they refused.

The highest tide of success set Mee not above a Treatie; nor the lowest ebb below a Fight: Though I never thought it anie sign of true valour to bee prodigal of men's lives,  
rather

rather then to bee drawn to produce our own reasons, or subscribe to other men's.

That which made mee for the most part presage the unsuccessfulness of any Treatie, was, som men's unwillingness to Treat: which implied som things were to bee gained by the Sword, whose unreasonableness they were loth to have fairly scanned, being more proper to bee acted by Souldiers, then by Counsellors.

I praie God forgive them that were guiltie of that Treatie's-breaking; and give them grace to make their advantages gotten by the Sword a better opportunitie to use such moderation, as was then wanting; that so though Peace were for our sins justly deferred, yet at last it may bee happily obtain'd; what wee could not get by our Treaties, wee may gain by our Praiers.

O Thou, that art the God of Reason, and of Peace, who disdainest not to Treat with Sinners, preventing them with offers of atonement, and beseeching them to bee reconciled with thy self; who wantest not power, or justice, to destroy them, yet aboundest in mercie to save; soften our hearts by the blood of our Redeemer, and perswade us to accept of Peace with thy self, and both to procure and preserve Peace among our selves, as Men and Christians. How oft have I intreated for Peace! but

*M*

*when*



when I speak thereof, they make them readie to War.

Condemn us not to our passions, which are destructive both of our selves, and of others.

Clear up our understandings to see thy Truth, both in Reason, as Men; and in Religion, as Christians: and incline all our hearts to hold the unitie of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

Take from us that enmitie which is now in our hearts against thee: and give us that charitie which should bee among our selves.

Remove the evils of War wee have deserved, and bestow upon us that Peace, which onely Christ our great Peace-maker can merit.

### 19. Upon the various events of the War, Victories, and Defeats.

THE various Successes of this unhappie war have, at least, afforded mee varietie of good Meditations: sometimes God was pleased to trie mee with victorie, by worsting My Enemies, that I might know how with moderation and thanks to own, and use his power, who is onely the true *Lord of Hosts*; able when he please's to repress the confidence of those, that fought against mee, with so great advantages for power and number.

From small beginnings on My part hee let mee

Mee see that I was not wholly forsaken by My people's love, or his protection.

Other times God was pleased to exercise My patience; and teach Mee not to trust in the arm of Flesh, but in the living God.

My sins sometimes prevailed against the justice of My caus: and those that were with Mee wanted not matter and occasion for his just chastisement both of them, and Mee: Nor were My enemies less punished by that prosperitie, which hardened them to continue that injustice by open hostilitie, which was begun by most riotous and unparliamentarie Tumults.

There is no doubt but personal and private sins may oft-times over-balance the Justice of Publick engagements; nor doth God account everie gallant Man (in the world's esteem) a fit instrument to assert in the waie of War a righteous Caus; The more men are prone to arrogate to their own skill, valor and strength, the less doth God ordinarily work by them for his own glorie.

I am sure the event or success can never state the Justice of anie Caus, nor the peace of men's Consciences, nor the eternal fate of their Souls.

Those with Mee had (I think) clearly and undoubtedly, for their Justification, the Word of God, and the Laws of the Land, together

with their own Oaths; all requiring obedience to My just Commands; but to none other under Heaven without Mee, or against mee, in the point of raising Arms.

Those on the other side are forced to flie to the shifts of som pretended Fears, and wilde fundamentals of State (as they call them) which actually overthrow the present fabrick both of Church and State; beeing such imaginarie Reasons for self-defence as are most impertinent for those men to alledg, who, beeing My Subjects, were manifestly the first assaулters of Mee and the Laws: first by unsuppressed Tumults, after by listd Forces. The same Allegations, they use, will fit anie Faction, that hath but power and confidence enough, to second with the sword all their demands against the present Laws and Governors; which can never bee such as som side or other will not finde fault with, so as to urge what they call a Reformation of them to a Rebellion against them; som parasitick Preachers have dared to call those *Martyrs*, who died fighting against Mee, the Laws, their Oaths, and the Religion Established.

But sober Christians know, That glorious Title can with Truth bee applied onely to those, who sincerely preferred God's Truth, and their dutie in all these particulars before their lives, and all that was dear to them in  
this

this world; who, having no advantageous designs by any Innovation, were religiously sensible of those Ties to God, the Church, and My self, which laie upon their Souls, both for obedience and just assistance.

God could, and I doubt not but hee did through his mercie, crown manie of them with eternal life, whose lives were lost in so just a Cause; The destruction of their bodies being sanctified, as a means to save their souls.

Their wounds and temporal ruine serving as a gracious opportunitie for their eternal health and happiness; while the evident approach of death did, through God's grace, effectually dispose their hearts to such Humilitie, Faith, and Repentance, which together with the Rectitude of their present engagement, would fully prepare them for a better life then that, which their enemies brutish & disloyal fierceness could deprive them of; or, without Repentance, hope to enioie.

They have often, indeed, had the better against My side in the field; but never, I believ, at the Bar of God's Tribunal, or their own Consciences; where they are more afraid to encounter those manie pregnant Reasons, both from Law, Allegiance, and all true Christian grounds, which conflict *with*, and accuse them in their own thoughts, then they oft were, in a desperate braverie, to fight against those



Forces, which sometimes God gave Mee.

Whose condition conquered, and dying, I make no question, but is infinitely more to be chosen by a sober man, (that duely values his dutie, his soul, and eternitie, beyond the enjoyments of this present life) then the most triumphant glorie, wherein their and Mine Enemies supervive; who can hardly avoid to be daily tormented by that horrid guilt, wherewith their suspicious, or now convicted Consciences do pursue them, especially since they and all the world have seen, how false and un-intended those pretensions were, which they first set forth, as the onely plausible (though not justifiable) grounds of raising a War, and continuing it thus long against Mee and the Laws established, in whose safetie and preservation all honest men think the welfare of their Countrie doth consist.

For, and with, all which, it is far more honorable and comfortable to suffer, then to prosper in their ruine and subversion.

I have often praied, that all on My side might join true pietie with the sense of their Loyaltie, and be as faithful to God and their own souls, as they were to Mee. That the defects of the one might not blast the endeavours of the other.

Yet I cannot think, that anie shews, or truth of pietie on the other side were sufficient to dispens

dispens with, or expiate the defects of their Dutie and Loyaltie to Mee, which have so pregnant convictions on men's Consciences, that even profaner men are mooved by the sens of them to venture their Lives for Mee.

I never had anie victorie which was without My sorrow, becaus it was on Mine own Subjects, who, like *Absalom*, died manie of them in their sin: And yet I never suffered anie Defeat, which made Mee despair of God's mercie and defence.

I never desired such Victories, as might serv to conquer, but onely restore the Laws and Liberties of My People, which I saw were extremely oppressed together with My Rights by those men, who were impatient of anie just restraint.

When Providence gave Mee, or denied Mee Victorie, My desire was neither to boast of My power, nor to charge God foolishly; who I believed at last would make all things work together for My good.

I wished no greater advantages by the War, then to bring My Enemies to moderation, and My Friends to peace.

I was affraid of the temptation of an absolute conquest, and never praied more for Victorie over others, then over My self. When

the first was denied, the second was granted  
Mee, which God saw best for Mee.

The different events were but the methods  
of divine Justice, by contrarie windes to win-  
now us : That, by punishing our sins, hee  
might purge them from us ; and, by defer-  
ring Peace, hee might prepare us more to  
prize, and better to use so great a blessing.

My often-Messages for Peace shewed that  
I delighted not in War, as My former Con-  
cessions sufficiently testified, how willingly I  
would have prevented it, and My total un-  
preparedness for it, how little I Intended it.

The conscience of My Innocencie forbad  
Mee to fear a War, but the love of My  
Kingdoms commanded Mee (if possible) to  
avoid it.

I am guiltie in this War of nothing but  
this, That I gave such advantages to some  
Men, by confirming their power, which they  
knew not to use with that modestie and gra-  
titude, which became their Loyaltie and My  
confidence.

Had I yielded less, I had been opposed  
less ; had I denied more, I had been more ob-  
eyed.

'Tis now too late to review the occasions  
of the War ; I wish onely a happie conclu-  
sion of so unhappie beginnings : The inevita-  
ble

ble fate of our sins was (no doubt) such, as would no longer suffer the Divine Justice to bee quiet : wee, having conquered his patience, are condemned by mutual conquerings, to destroy one another : for, the most prosperous successes on either side impair the welfare of the whole.

Those Victories are still miserable, that leave our sins unsubdued ; flushing our pride, and animating to continue Injuries.

Peace it self is not desirable, till repentance hath prepared us for it.

When wee fight more against our selves, and less against God, wee shall cease fighting against one another ; I praise God these may all meet in our hearts, and so dispose us to an happie conclusion of these Civil Wars ; that I may know better to obeie God, and govern My People ; and they may learn better to obeie both God, and mee.

Nor do I desire anie man should bee further subject to mee, then all of us may bee subject to God.

O My God, make mee content to bee overcome, when thou wilt have it so.

Teach mee the noblest Victorie over My self, and My Enemies by Patience ; which was Christ's Conquest, and may well become a Christian King.

Between



Between both thy hands, the right sometimes supporting, and the left afflicting, fashion us to that frame of Pietie thou likest best.

Forgive the Pride that attend's our prosperous, and the repinings which follow our disastrous events, when going forth in our own strength, thou withdrawest thine, and goest not forth with our Armies.

Bee thou all, when wee are something, and when wee are nothing, that thou mai'st have the glorie, when wee are in a victorious, or inglorious condition.

Thou, O Lord, knowest, how hard it is for Mee to suffer so much evil from My Subjects, to whom I intend nothing but good, and I cannot but suffer in those evils which they compel Mee to inflict upon them, punishing My self in their punishments.

Since therefore both in conquering, and being conquered, I am still a Sufferer, I beseech thee to give Mee a double portion of thy Spirit, and that measure of grace, which onely can bee sufficient for Mee.

As I am most afflicted, so make Mee most reformed, that I may bee not onely happie to see an end of these civil distractions, but a chief Instrument to restore and establish a firm and blessed Peace to My Kingdoms.

Stir up in all Parties pious ambitions to overcome each other with Reason, Moderation, and such Self

Self-denial, as becom's those, who consider that our mutual divisions are our common distractions, and the Union of all is everie good man's chiefeſt interest.

If, O Lord, as for the ſins of our Peace, thou haſt brought upon us the miſeries of War; ſo for the ſins of War thou ſhould'ſt ſee fit ſtill to denie' us the bleſſing of peace, and ſo to keep us in a circulation of miſeries; yet give mee thy Servant, and all Loyal, though afflicted Subjects, to enioie that Peace which the world can neither give to us, nor take from us.

Impute not to mee the blood of My Subjects, which with infinite unwillingneſs and grief hath been ſhed by mee in My juſt and neceſſarie deſenſ: but waſh mee with that pretious blood which hath been ſhed for mee by My great Peace-maker Jeſus Chriſt: who will, I truſt, redeem mee ſhortly out of all My troubles: for, I know the triumphing of the Wicked is but ſhort, and the joie of Hypocrites is but for a moment.

20. Upon the Reformations of the Times.

NO Glorie is more to bee envied then that of due reforming either Church or State, when deformities are ſuch, that the perturbation

bation and Noveltie are not like to exceed the benefit of Reforming.

Although God should not honor Mee so far, as to make Mee an Instrument of so good a work, yet I should bee glad to see it don.

As I was wel-pleased with this Parliament's first intentions to reform what the Indulgence of Times, and corruption of manners might have depraved; so I am sorrie to see, after the freedom of Parliament was by factious Tumults oppressed, how little regard was had to the good Laws established, and the Religion settled; which ought to bee the first rule and *Standard* of reforming: with how much partialitie and popular compli-  
ance the passions and opinions of men have been gratified to the detriment of the Publick, and the infinite scandal of the Reformed Religion.

What dissolutions of all Order and Government in the Church, what Novelties of Schisms and corrupt Opinions, what undecencies and confusions in sacred Administrations, what sacrilegious invasions upon the Rights and Revenues of the Church, what contempt and oppressions of the Clergie, what injurious diminutions and persecutings of Mee have followed (as showres do warme gleams) the talk of Reformation, all sober  
men

men are Witnesses, and (with My self) sad Spectators hitherto.

The great miscarriage I think is, that popular clamors and furie have been allowed the reputation of Zeal and the Publick sens; so that the studie to pleas for Parties hath indeed injured all.

Freedom, moderation, and impartialitie are sure the best tempers of reforming Councils and endeavours: what is acted by Factions cannot but offend more then it pleaseth.

I have offered to put all differences in Church-affairs and Religion to the free consultation of a Synod or Convocation rightly chosen; the results of whose Counsels as they would have included the Votes of all, so 'tis like they would have giv'n most satisfaction to all.

The Assemblie of Divines, whom the two Houses have applied (in an unwonted waie) to advise of Church-affairs, I dislike not further, then that they are not legally convened and chosen; nor Act in the name of all the Clergie of *England*, nor with freedom and impartialitie can do anie thing, beeing limited and confined, if not over-awed, to do and declare what they do.

For I cannot think so manie men cried up for learning and pietie, who formerly allowed the Liturgie and Government of the Church of



of *England*, as to the main, would have so suddenly agree'd quite to abolish both of them, (the last of which, they knew to bee of Apostolical institution, at least; as of Primitive and Universal practice) if they had been left to the libertie of their own suffrages, & if influence of contrarie Factions had not by secret encroachments of hopes and fears, prevailed upon them, to complie with so great and dangerous Innovations in the Church; without anie regard to their own former judgment and practice, or to the common interest and honor of all the Clergie; and, in them, of Order, Learning and Religion, against examples of all Antient Churches, the Laws in force, and My consent; which is never to bee gained against so pregnant light, as in that point shin'es on My understanding.

For I conceiv, that where the Scripture is not so clear and punctual in precepts, there the Constant and Universal practice of the Church, in things not contrarie to Reason, Faith, good Manners, or anie positive Command, is the best Rule that Christians can follow.

I was willing to grant or restore to Presbyterie what with Reason or Discretion it can pretend to, in a conjuncture with Episcopacie; but, for all that, wholly to invade the Power, and by the Sword to arrogate and quite abrogate

rogate the Authoritie of that Ancient Order, I think neither just as to Episcopacie, nor safe for Presbyterie, nor yet anie waie convenient for this Church or State.

A due reformation had easily followed moderate Counsils, and such (I beleeve) as would have giv'n more content even to the most of those Divines who have been led on with much Gravitie and Formalitie, to carrie on other men's designs; which, no doubt, manie of them by this time discover, though they dare not but smother their frustrations and discontents.

The specious and popular titles of *Christ's Government*, *Throne*, *Scepter*, and *Kingdom*, (which certainly is not divided, nor hath two faces, as their Parties now have, at least) also the nois of a thorow-Reformation, may as easily bee fixed on new models, as fair colors may bee put to ill-favoured figures.

The breaking of Church-windows, which Time had sufficiently defaced; pulling down of Crosses, which were but civil, not Religious marks; defacing of the Monuments and Inscriptions of the Dead, which served but to put Posteritie in minde to thank God for that clearer light wherein they live: The leaving of all Ministers to their liberties and private abilities in the publick service of God, where

no Christian can tell to what hee may sale  
*Amen*; nor what adventure hee may make  
 of seeming (at least) to consent to the Errors,  
 Blasphemies, and ridiculous Undecencies,  
 which bold and ignorant men list to vent in  
 their Prayers, Preaching, and other Offices.  
 The setting forth also of old Catechisms and  
 Confessions of Faith new drest, importing as  
 much as if there had been no sound or clear  
 Doctrine of Faith in this Church, before som  
 four or five years consultation had matured  
 their thoughts, touching their first Principles  
 of Religion:

All these, and the like, are the effects of po-  
 pular, specious, and deceitful Reformations,  
 (that they might not seem to have nothing to  
 do) and may give som short flashes of con-  
 tent to the Vulgar, (who are taken with No-  
 velties, as Children with Babies, verie much,  
 but not verie long) But all this amount's not  
 to, nor can in Justice merit the glorie of the  
 Church's thorow-Reformation; since they  
 leav all things more deformed, disorderlie,  
 and discontented, then when they began, in  
 point of Pietie, Moralitie, Charitie, and good  
 Order.

Nor can they easily recompens or remedie  
 the inconveniences and mischiefs, which they  
 have purchased so dearly, and which have,  
 and ever will necessarily ensue, till due reme-  
 dies bee applied.

I wish

I wish they would, at last, make it their Unanimous work to do God's work, and not their own: Had Religion been first considered (as it merited) much trouble might have been prevented.

But som men thought that the Government of this Church and State, fixed by so manie Laws and long Customs, would not run into their new moulds till they had first melted it in the fire of a Civil War, by the advantages of which they resolved, if they prevailed, to make My self and all My Subjects fall down and worship the Images they should form and set up: If there had been as much of *Christ's Spirit* for meekness, wisdom, and charitie, in men's hearts, as there was of his *Name* used in the pretensions, to reform all to *Christ's Rule*, it would certainly have obtained more of God's blessing, and produced more of *Christ's Glorie*, the *Churche's Good*, the *Honor of Religion*, and the *Unitie of Christians*.

Publick Reformers had need first Act in private, and practice that on their own hearts which they purpose to trie on others, for Deformities within will soon betraie the Pretenders of publick Reformations to such private designs as must needs hinder the Publick good.

I am sure the right Methods of Reforming  
N the



the Church cannot consist with that of perturbing the Civil State; nor can Religion bee justly advanced by depressing Loyaltie, which is one of the chiefest Ingredients and Ornaments of true Religion; for, next to *fear God*, is, *Honor the King*.

I doubt not but Christ's Kingdom may bee set up without pulling down Mine; nor will anie men in impartial times appear good Christians, that approov not themselves good Subjects.

Christ's Government will confirm Mine, not overthrow it; since as I own Mine from Him, so I desire to rule for his Glorie, and his Church's good.

Had som men truly intended Christ's Government, or knew what it meant in their hearts, they could never have been so ill-governed in their words and actions, both against Mee and one another.

As good ends cannot justifie evil means; so nor will evil beginnings ever bring forth good conclusions; unless God, by a miracle of Mercie, create Light out of Darknes, Order out of our Confusions, and Peace out of our Passions.

*Thou, O Lord, who onely can'st give us benediction for ashes, and Truth for Hypocrisie; suffer us not to bee miserably deluded with Pharisaical washings;*

ings, in stead of Christian Reformings.

Our greatest deformities are within ; make us the severest Censurers, and first Reformers of our own souls:

That wee may in clearness of Judgment, and uprightness of heart bee means to reform what is indeed amiss in Church and State.

Create in us clean hearts, O Lord, and renew right spirits within us ; that wee may do all by thy directions , to thy glorie , and with thy blessing.

Pittie the deformities which som rash and cruel Reformers have brought upon this Church and State : Quench the fires which Factions have kindled, under the pretens of Reforming.

As thou hast shewed the world, by their divisions and confusions, what is the pravitie of som men's intentions, and weakness of their judgments ; so bring us at last more refined out of these fires, by the methods of Christian and charitable Reformations ; wherein nothing of Ambition, Revenge, Covetousness, or Sacriledg, may have anie influence upon their counsels, whom thy Providence in just and lawful waies shall entrust with so great, good, and now most necessarie work : that I and My People may bee so bless'd with inward Pietie, as may best teach us how to use the blessing of outward Peace.

21. *Upon His Majestie's Letters taken and divulged.*

**T**He taking of My Letters was an opportunitie, which, as the malice of Mine Enemies could hardly have expected it, so, they knew not how with Honor and Civilitie to use: Nor do I think, with sober and worthie mindes, anie thing in them could tend so much to My reproach, as the odious divulging of them did to the infamie of the Divulgers: The greatest experiments of Virtue and Nobleness beeing discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy; and the greatest obligations beeing those, which are put upon us by them, from whom wee could least have expected them.

And such I should have esteemed the concealing of My Papers; The freedom and secrecie of which command's a civilitie from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anie thing more inhumane then to expose them to Publick view.

Yet since Providence will have it so, I am content so much of My heart (which I studie to approov to God's omniscience) should be discovered to the world, without anie of those dresses or popular captations which som men  
use

use in their Speeches and Expresses; I wish My Subjects had yet a clearer sight into My most retired thoughts.

Where they might discover how they are divided between the love and care I have, not more to preserv My own Rights, then to procure their Peace and Happiness; and that extreme grief to see them both Deceived and Destroyed.

Nor can anie men's malice bee gratified further by My Letters, then to see My constancie to My Wife, the Laws, and Religion. Bees will gather Honie, where the Spider suck's Poison.

That I endeavour to avoid the pressures of My Enemies, by all fair and just correspondencies, no man can blame, who love's Mee, or the Common-wealth; since My Subjects can hardly bee happie, if I bee miserable; or enioie their Peace and Liberties, while I am oppressed.

The world may see how som men's design, like *Absolom's*, is, by enormous actions, to widen differences, and to exasperate all sides to such distances, as may make all reconciliation desperate.

Yet, I thank God, I can not onely with Patience bear this, as other indignities; but with Charitie forgive them.

The integritie of My intentions is not jea-



lous of anie injurie, My expressions can do them; for although the confidence of privacy may admit greater freedom in writing such Letters, which may bee liable to envious exceptions; yet the Innocencie of My chief purposes cannot bee so stained, or mis-interpreted by them, as not to let all men see, that I wish nothing more then an happie composition of differences with Justice and Honor, not more to My own, then My People's content, who have anie sparks of Love or Loyaltie left in them: who, by those My Letters, may bee convinced, that I can both minde and A& Mine own, and My Kingdom's Affairs, so as becom's a Prince; which Mine Enemies have alwaies been verie loth should bee believed of Mee; as if I were wholly confined to the Dictates and Directions of others, whom they pleas to brand with the names of *Evil Counsellors*.

It's probable som men will now look upon Mee as My own Counsellor; and, having none els to quarrel with under that notion, they will hereafter confine their anger to My Self: Although I know they are verie unwilling I should enjoie that libertie of My own Thoughts, or follow that light of My own Conscience, which they labor to bring into an absolute captivitie to themselvs; not allowing Mee to think their Counsels to bee  
other

other then good for Mee, which have so long maintained a War against Mee.

The Victorie they obtained that daie, when My Letters became their prize, had been enough to have satiated the most ambitious thirst of Popular Glorie among the Vulgar; with whom Prosperitie gain's the greatest esteem and applaus; as Adversitie exposeth to their greatest slighting and dis-respect: As if good fortune were alwaies the shadow of Virtue and Justice, and did not oft'ner attend vitious and injurious actions, as to this world.

But I see no secular advantages seem sufficient to that Caus, which began with Tumults, and depend's chiefly upon the reputation with the Vulgar.

They think no Victories so effectual to their designs as those, that most rout and waste My Credit with My People; in whose hearts they seek by all means to smother and extinguish all sparks of Love, Respect, and Loyaltie to Mee, that they may never kindle again, so as to recover Mine, the Law's, and the Kingdom's Liberties, which som men seek to overthrow: The taking away of My Credit is but a necessarie preparation to the taking away of My Life, and My Kingdoms; First I must seem neither fit to Live, nor wor-thie to Reign; by exquisite methods of cunning and crueltie, I must bee compelled, first,

to follow the Funerals of My Honor, and then bee destroyed: But I know God's unerring and impartial Justice can, and will over-rule the most pervers wills and designs of men; Hee is able, and (I hope) will turn even the worst of Mine Enemy's thoughts and actions to My good.

Nor do I think, that by the surprize of My Letters, I have lost anie more then so manie Papers: How much they have lost of that reputation, for Civilitie and Humanitie (which ought to bee paid to all men, and most become's such as pretend to Religion) besides that of Respect and Honor, which they owe to their K I N G, - present, and after-times will judg. And I cannot think that their own Consciences are so stupid, as not to inflict upon them som secret impressions of that shame and dishonor, which attend's all unworthie actions, have they never so much of Publick flatterie, and Popular countenance.

I am sure they can never expect the Divine Approbation of such indecent actions, if they do but remember how God blest'd the modest respect and filial tendernefs which *Noah's* Sons bare to their Father; nor did his open infirmitie justifie *Cham's* impudencie, or exempt him from that curse of beeing *Servant of servants*; which curse must needs bee on them who seek by dishonorable actions to please  
the

the Vulgar, and confirm by ignoble acts their dependence upon the People.

Nor can their malicious intentions bee ever either excusable, or prosperous, who thought, by this means, to expose Mee to the highest reproach and contempt of My People; forgetting that Dutie of modest concealment, which they owed to the *Father* of their *Countrie*, in case they had discovered anie real uncomeliness; which, I thank God, they did not; who can, and, I believ, hath made Mee (as hee did *David*) more respected in the hearts of manie, to whom they thought, by publishing My private Letters, to have rendered Mee as a *vile Person*, not fit to bee trusted, or considered, under anie notion of Majesty.

- But thou, O Lord, whose wise and all-disposing providence ordereth the greatest contingences of humane affairs, make Mee to see the constancie of thy mercies to Mee, in the greatest advantages thou seemest to give the malice of My Enemies against Mee.

As thou did'st blast the counsel of Achitophel, turning it to David's good, and his own ruine; so canst thou defeat their design, who intended by publishing My private letters, nothing els, but to render Mee more odious & contemptible to My people.

I must first appeal to thy Omniscience, who  
can'st



can'st witness with My integritie, how unjust and fals those scandalous mis-constructions are, which My enemies endeavour by those Papers of Mine to represent to the world.

Make the evil they imagined, and displeasure they intended thereby, against Mee, so to return on their own heads, that they may bee ashamed, and covered with their own confusion, as with a Cloak.

Thou see'st how Mine Enemies use all means to cloud Mine Honor, to pervert My purposes, and to slander the footsteps of thine Anointed.

But give Mee an heart content to bee dishonored for thy sake, and thy Church's good.

Fix in Mee a purpose to honor thee, and then I know thou wilt honor Mee; either by restoring to Mee the enjoiment of that Power and Majestie, which thou hast suffered som men to seek to deprive Mee of; or by bestowing on Mee that crown of Christian patience, which know's how to serv thee in honor, or dishonor, in good report, or evil.

Thou, O Lord, art the fountain of goodness and honor; thou art clothed with excellent Majestie; make Mee to partake of thy excellencie for wisdom, justice, and mercie, and I shall not want that degree of Honor and Majestie, which becom's the Place in which thou hast set Mee, who art the lifter up of My head, and My salvation.

Lord, by thy Grace, lead mee to thy Glorie, which is both true, and eternal.

Upon

22. Upon His Majestie's leaving Oxford,  
and going to the Scots.

**A**Lthough God hath giv'n Mee three Kingdoms, yet in these Hee hath not now left Mee anie place, where I may with Safetie and Honor rest My Head: Shewing Mee that himself is the safest Refuge, and the strongest Tower of Defens, in which I may put My Trust.

In these extremities I look not to man so much, as to God; Hee will not have it thus; that I may wholly cast my self, and My now distressed Affairs upon his Mercie, who hath both the hearts and hands of all men in his dispose.

What Providence denie's to Force, it may grant to Prudence: Necessitie is now My Counsellor, and command's Mee to studie My safetie by a disguised withdrawing from My chiefeft strength, and adventuring upon their Loyaltie, who first began My Troubles. Haply God may make them a means honorably to compose them.

This My confidence of Them, may dis-arm and overcom Them: My rend'ring My Person to Them may engage their Affections to Mee, who have oft professed, *They fought not against Mee, but for Mee.*

I must

I must now resolv the riddle of theit Loyaltie; and give them opportunitie to let the world see, they mean not what they do, but what they saie.

Yet must God bee My chiefeſt Guard; and My Conscience both My Counsellor and My Comforter: Though I put My Bodie into their hands, yet I shall reserv My Soul to God; and My self: nor shall anie necessities compel Mee to desert Mine Honor, or swerv from My Judgment.

What they sought to take by Force, shall now bee giv'n them in such a waie of unusual Confidence of them, as may make them ashamed not to bee really such, as they ought, and professed to bee.

God see's it not enough to deprive Me of all Militarie power to defend My self; but to put Me upon using their power, who seem to fight against Me, yet ought in dutie to defend Me.

So various are all humane affairs, and so necessitous may the state of Princes bee, that their greatest danger may bee in their supposed safetie, and their safetie in their supposed danger.

I must now leav those that have Adhered to Mee, and applie to those that have Opposed Mee; this method of Peace may bee more prosperous then that of War, both to stop the effusion of blood, and to close those wounds  
alreadie

alreadie made : and in it I am no less sollicitous for My Friend's safetie, then Mine own ; chusing to venture My self upon further hazards, rather then expose their resolute Loyaltie to all extremities.

It is som skill in plaie to know when a game is lost ; better fairly to give over, then to contest in vain.

I must now studie to re-inforce My judgment, and fortifie My minde with Reason and Religion; that I may not seem to offer up My Soul's libertie, or make My Conscience their Captive ; who ought at first to have used Arguments, not Arms, to have perswaded My Consent to their New Demands.

I thank God, no success darken's, or disguise's Truth to Mee; and I shall no less conform My words to My inward dictates now, then if they had been, as the words of a King ought to bee among Loyal Subjects, *full of power.*

Reason is the divinest power. I shall never think My self weak'ned while I may make full and free use of that. No eclips of outward fortune shall rob Mee of that light; what God hath denied of outward strength, his grace, I hope, will supplie with inward resolutions; not morosely to denie, what is fit to bee granted ; but not to grant anie thing, which Reason and Religion bid Mee denie.

I shall never think My self less then My self  
while



while I am able thus to preserv the Integrity of My Conscience, the onely jewel now left Mee, which is worth keeping.

O Thou Sovereign of our Souls, the onely commander of our Consciences; though I know not what to do, yet Mine eies are towards thee: To the protection of thy mercie I still commend My self.

As Thou hast preserved Mee in the daie of Battel; so Thou canst still shew Mee Thy strength in My weakness.

Bee Thou unto Mee in My darkest night, a Pillar of fire, to enlighten and direct Mee; in the day of My hottest affliction, bee also a Pillar of Cloud to over-shadow and protect Mee; bee to Mee both a Sun and a Shield.

Thou knowest, that it is not anie perverseness of Will, but just perswasions of Honor, Reason, and Religion, which have made Mee thus far to hazard My person, Peace, and Safetie, against Those, that by force have sought to wrest them from Mee.

Suffer not My just resolutions to abate with My outward Forces; let a good Conscience alwaies accompanie Mee, in My solitude and desertions.

Suffer Mee not to betraie the powers of Reason, and that fortress of My Soul, which I am entrusted with to keep for Thee.

Lead

*Lead mee in the paths of thy Righteousnes, and  
shew mee thy Salvation.*

*Make My waies to please thee, and then thou wilt  
make Mine Enemies to bee at peace with mee.*

23. Upon the Scot's delivering the  
KING to the English; and His Captivi-  
tie at Holmbie.

— Y Et may I justifie those *sins* to all the  
World in this, That they have not  
deceived mee; for I never trusted to them  
further, then to men: if I am sold by them,  
I am onely sorrie they should do it; and that  
My price should bee so much above My Sa-  
viour's.

These are but further *Esaias*, which God  
will have mee make of man's uncertaintie;  
the more to fix mee on himself, who *never*  
*faileth them that trust in him*: Though the  
Reeds of Egypt break under the hand of him  
that lean's on them; yet the Rock of Israel  
will bee an everlasting stae and defens.

God's Providence command's mee to re-  
tire from all to himself, that in him I may  
enjoie My self; whom I lose, while I let out  
My hopes to others.

The solitude and captivie, to which I am  
now reduced, give's mee leisure enough to  
studie the world's vanitie and inconstancie.

God

God see's 'tis fit to deprive Mee of Wife, Children, Armie, Friends, and Freedom, that I may bee wholly his, who alone is All.

I care not much to bee reckoned among the *Unfortunate*, if I bee not in the black List of *irreligious and sacrilegious Princes*.

No Restraint shall ensnare My Soul in sin, nor gain that of Mee, which may make My Enemies more insolent, My Friends ashamed, or My Name accursed.

They have no great cause to triumph, that they have got My Person into their power; since My Soul is still My own: nor shall they ever gain My Consent against My Conscience.

What they call Obstinacie, I know God account's honest Constancie; from which Reason and Religion, as well as Honor, forbid Mee to recede.

'Tis evident now, that it was not Evil Counsellors with Mee, but a good Conscience in Mee, which hath been fought against; nor did they ever intend to bring Mee to My Parliament, till they had brought My minde to their obedience.

Should I grant what some men desire, I should bee such as they wish Mee: not more a King, and far less both Man and Christian.

What tumults and Armies could not obtain, neither shall Restraint; which though it have

have as little of safetie to a Prince, yet it hath not more of danger.

The fear of men shall never bee My snare ; nor shall the love of anie libertie entangle My soul : Better others betraye Mee, then My self; and that the price of My Libertie should bee My Conscience: The greatest injuries My Enemies seek to inflict upon Mee cannot bee without My own consent.

While I can denie with Reason, I shall defeat the greatest impressions of their malice, who neither know how to use worthily what I have already granted ; nor what to require more of Mee but this, That I would seem willing to help them to destroye My self and Mine.

Although they should Destroye Mee, yet they shall have no cause to Despise Mee.

Neither libertie, nor life are so dear to Mee, as the peace of My Conscience, the Honor of My Crowns, and the welfare of My People; which My Word may injure more then anie War can do, while I gratifie a few to oppress all.

The Laws will, by God's blessing, revive, with the love and Loyaltie of My subjects, if I burie them not by My Consent, and cover them in that grave of dishonor, and injustice, which some men's violence hath digged for them.



If My captivitie, or death must bee the price of their redemption, I grudg not to paie it.

No condition can make a King miserable, which carri's not with it his soul's, his People's, and Posteritie's thraldom.

After-times may see, what the blindness of this Age will not; and God may at length shew My Subjects, that I chuse rather to suffer for them, then with them; haply I might redeem My self to som shew of libertie, if I would consent to enslave them: I had rather hazard the ruine of one King, then confirm manie Tyrants over them; from whom I praie God deliver them, whatever becom's of Mee; whose solitude hath not left Mee alone.

*For thou, O God, infinitely-good, and great, art with Mee; whose presence is better then life, and whose service is perfect freedom.*

*Own Mee for thy Servant, and I shall never have caus to complain for want of that libertie, which becom's a Man, a Christian, and a King.*

*Bless Mee still with Reason, as a Man; with Religion, as a Christian; and with Constancie in Justice, as a King.*

*Though Thou sufferest Mee to bee stript of all outward ornaments; yet preserv Mee ever in those enjoiments, wherein I may enjoie thy self; and which cannot bee taken from Mee against My will.*

Let no fire of affliction boil over My passion to  
 anie impatience, or sordid fears.

There bee manie saie of Mee, There is no help for  
 Mee: do Thou lift up the Light of thy Countenance  
 upon Mee, and I shall neither want Safetie, Liber-  
 tie, nor Majestie.

Give Mee that measure of Patience and constan-  
 cie, which My condition now require's.

My strength is scattered, My expectation from  
 Men defeated, my Person restrained: O bee not  
 Thou far from Mee, lest my Enemies prevail too  
 much against Mee.

I am becom a wonder, and a scorn to manie: O  
 bee Thou My Helper and Defendor.

Shew som token upon Mee for good, that they,  
 that hate Mee, may bee ashamed, becaus thou Lord  
 hast holpen and comforted Mee: establishe Mee with  
 thy free Spirit that I may do, and suffer thy Will;  
 as thou would'st have Mee.

Bee merciful to Mee, O Lord, for my Soul trust-  
 eth in Thee: yea, and in the shadow of thy wings  
 will I make My refuge until these calamities bee  
 over-past.

Arise to deliver Mee, make no long tarrying, O  
 My God. Though Thou killest Mee, yet will I trust  
 in Thy Mercie, and My Saviour's Merit.

I know that My Redeemer liveth; though Thou  
 ledest Mee through the vale and shadow of death;  
 yet shall I fear none ill.

24 *Upon their denying His Majestie the Attendance of His Chaplains.*

**W**Hen Providence was pleased to deprive Mee of all other civil comforts and secular Attendants, I thought the absence of them all might best bee supplied by the attendance of som of My Chaplains; whom for their Function I reverence, and for their Fidelitie I have caus to love. By their Learning, Pietie, and Praiers, I hoped to bee either better enabled to sustain the want of all other enjoiments, or better fitted for the recoverie and use of them in God's good time: so reaping, by their pious help, a spiritual harvest of Grace amid'st the thorns, and after the plowings of temporal crosses.

The truth is, I never needed, or desired more the service and assistance of men judiciously-pious, and soberly-devout.

The solitude, they have confined Mee unto, add's the Wilderness to My temptations; For the companie they obtrude upon Mee is more sad then anie solitude can bee.

If I had asked My Revenues, My power of the *Militia*, or anie one of My Kingdoms, it had

had been no wonder to have been denied in those things, where the evil policie of men forbid's all just restitution, lest they should confesse an injurious usurpation: But to denie Mee the Ghostlie comfort of My Chaplains seem's a greater rigor and barbaritie, then is ever used by Christians to the meanest Prisoners and greatest Malefactors; whom though the Justice of the Law deprive's of worldlie comforts, yet the Mercie of Religion allow's them the benefit of their Clergie; as not aiming at once to destroie their Bodies, and to damn their Souls.

But My Agonie must not bee relieved with the presence of anie one good Angel; for such I account a Learned, Godlie, and Discreet Divine: and such I would have all Mine to bee.

They that envie My beeing a King, are loth I should bee a Christian: while they seek to deprive Mee of all things els, They are afraid I should save My Soul.

Other sens Charitie it self can hardly pick out of those manie harsh Repulses I received, as to that Request so often made for the attendance of som of My Chaplains.

I have sometime thought the Unchristian-ness of those denials might arise from a displeasure som men had to see Mee prefer My own Divines before their Ministers: whom



though I respect them for that worth and pietie which may bee in them, yet I cannot think so proper for anie present Comforters, or Physicians; who have (som of them at least) had so great an influence in occasioning these calamities, and inflicting these wounds upon Mee.

Nor are the soberest of them so apt for that Devotional compliance and juncture of hearts, which I desire to bear in those Holie Offices, to bee performed with Mee, and for Mee; since, their judgments standing at a distance from Mee, or in jealousie of Mee, or in opposition against Mee, their Spirits cannot so harmoniously accord with Mine, or Mine with their's, either in Praier, or other Holie Duties, as is meet, and most comfortable; whose golden Rule, and bond of Perfection consist's in that of mutual Love and Charitie.

Som Remedies are worf then the Disease, and som Comforters more miserable then Miserie it self; when, like *Job's* friends, they seek not to fortifie one's minde with patience, but perswade a man, by betraying his own Innocencie, to despair of God's Mercie; and, by justifying their injuries, to strengthen the hands, and harden the hearts of insolent Enemies.

I am so much a friend to all Church-men, that have anie thing in them becomming that  
Sacred

Sacred Function, that I have hazarded My own Interest, chiefly upon Conscience and Constancie, to maintain their Rights; whom the more I looked upon as Orphans, and under the Sacrilegious eies of manie cruel and rapacious Reformers; so I thought it My Dutie the more to appear as a Father, and a Patron for them and the Church. Although I am verie unhandsomly requited by som of them, who may live to repent no less for My sufferings, then their own ungrateful errors, and that injurious contempt and meanness, which they have brought upon their Calling and Persons.

I pittie all of them, I despise none: onely I thought I might have leav to make choif of som for My special Attendants, who were best approoved in My judgment, and most suitable to My affection. For, I held it better to seem undevout, and to hear no men's prayers, then to bee forced, or seem to complie with those Petitions, to which the heart cannot consent, nor the tongue saie *Amen*, without contradicting a man's own understanding, or belying his own soul.

In Devotions, I love neither Profane boldness, nor Pious non-sens; but such an humble and judicious gravitie, as shewe's the Speaker to bee at once considerate of God's Majestie; the Church's Honor, and his own Vileness;

ness; both knowing what things God allow's him to ask, and in what manner it becom's a Sinner to supplicate the divine Mercie for himself, and others.

I am equally scandalized with all praier, that sound either imperiously, or rudely, or passionately; as either wanting humilitie to God, or charitie to men, or respect to the dutie.

I confesse I am better pleased, as with studied and premeditated Sermons; so with such publick Forms of Praier, as are fitted to the Churches and everie Christian's dailie and common necessities; becaus I am by them better assured, what I may join My heart unto, then I can bee of anie man's extemporarie sufficiencie; which as I do not wholly exclude from Publick occasions; so I allow its just libertie and use in private & devout retirements, where neither the solemnitie of the Dutie, nor the modest regard to others, do require so great exactness, as to the outward manner of performance. Though the light of understanding, and the fervencie of affection, I hold the main and most necessarie requisites both in constant and occasional, solitarie and social Devotions;

So that I must needs seem to all equal mindes with as much Reason to prefer the service of My own Chaplains before that of their  
Mini-

Ministers, as I do the Liturgie before their Directorie.

In the one, I have been alwaies educated and exercised; in the other, I am not yet Catechized, nor acquainted: And, if I were, yet should I not by that, as by anie certain Rule and Canon of devotion, bee able to follow or finde out the indirect extravagancies of most of those men, who highly crie up that as a piece of rare compofure and use, which is alreadie as much despised and disused by manie of them, as the Common-praier somtimes was by those men; a great part of whose pietie hung upon that popular pin of railing against, and contemning the Government and Liturgie of this Church. But I had rather bee condemned to the wo of *Væ soli*, then to that of *Væ vobis, Hypocritæ*, by seeming to praie what I do not approov.

It may bee, I am esteemed by My Deniers sufficient of My self to discharge My dutie to GOD as a Priest; though not to Men as a Prince.

Indeed, I think both Offices, Regal and Sacerdotal, might well becom the same Person; as antiently they were under one name, & the united rights of Primogeniture: Nor could I follow better presidents, if I were able, then those two eminent Kings, *David*, and *Solomon*; not more famous for their Scepters and Crowns,



Crowns, then one was for devout Psalms and Praiers; the other for his divine Parables and Preaching: whence the one merited and assumed the name of a Prophet; the other, of a Preacher: Titles indeed of greater honor, where rightly placed, then anie of those the Romane Emperors affected from the Nations they subdued: it beeing infinitely more glorious to convert Souls to God's Church by the Word, then to conquer men to a subjection by the Sword.

Yet since the order of God's Wisdom and Providence hath, for the most part, alwaies distinguished the gifts and offices of Kings & Priests, of Princes and Preachers, both in the Jewish and Christian Churches; I am sorrie to finde My self reduced to the necessitie of beeing both, or enjoying neither.

For such, as seek to deprive Mee of My Kinglie Power and Sovereigntie, would no less enforce Mee to live inanie Months without all Praiers, Sacraments, and Sermons, unless I becom My own Chaplain.

As I ow the Clergie the protection of a Christian King; so I desire to enjoie from them the benefit of their gifts and praiers; which I look upon as more prevalent then My own, or other men's; by how much they flow from mindes more enlightned, and affections less distracted, then those which are  
encomb' red

encomb'red with Secular Affairs: besides, I think a greater blessing and acceptableness attend's those Duties, which are rightly performed, as proper to, and within the limits of that Calling, to which God and the Church have specially designed and Consecrated some men: And however, as to that Spiritual Government, by which the devout Soul is subject to Christ, and through his Merits daily offer's it self and it's services to God, everie private believer is a King and Priest, invested with the honor of a Royal Priest-hood; yet, as to Ecclesiastical Order, and the outward Politie of the Church, I think Confusion in Religion will as certainly follow everie man's turning Priest, or Preacher, as it will in the State, where everie one affect's to rule as King.

I was alwaies bred to more modest, and, I think, more pious Principles: the conscioufness to My spiritual defects make's Mee more prize and desire those pious assistances, which holie and good Ministers, either Bishops or Presbyters, may afford Mee; especially in these extremities, to which God hath been pleased to suffer some of My Subjects to reduce Mee; so as to leav them nothing more, but My life to take from Mee; and to leav Mee nothing to desire, which I thought might les provoke their jealousy and offens to denie Mee, then this of having some means afforded

ded Mee for My soul's comfort and support.

To which end I made choise of men, as no waie (that I know) scandalous; so everie waie eminent for their Learning & Pietie, no less then for their Loyaltie: nor can I imagine anie exceptions to bee made against them but one-ly this, That they may seem too able and too wel-affected toward Mee and My service.

But this is not the first service (as I count it the best) in which they have forced Mee to serv My self; though I must confesse I bear with more grief and impatience the want of My Chaplains, then of anie other My Servants; and next (if not beyond in som things) to the beeing sequestred from My Wife and Children; since from these, indeed, more of humane and temporarie affections; but from those, more of heavenlie and eternal improovments may bee expected.

My comfort is, that in the enforced (not neglected) want of ordinarie means, God is wont to afford extraordinarie supplies of his gifts and graces.

If his Spirit will teach Mee and help My Infirmities in praier, reading and meditation, (as I hope hee will) I shall need no other, either Orator, or Instrueter.

*To Thee therefore, O My God, do I direct  
My now-solitarie praiers; what I want of o-  
thers*

ther's help, supplie with the more immediate assistances of thy Spirit; which alone can both enlighten My darkness, and quicken My dulness.

O thou Sun of Righteousness, thou sacred Fountain of heavenlie light and heat, at once clear and warm My heart, both by instructing of Mee, and interceding for Mee: In thee is all fulness; from thee is all-sufficiencie; by thee is all acceptance. Thou art companie enough, and comfort enough: Thou art My King, bee also My Prophet, and My Priest: Rule Mee, Teach Mee, Praie in Mee, for Mee; and bee thou ever with Mee.

The single wrestlings of Jacob prevailed with thee, in that sacred Duel, when hee had none to second him but thy self; who did'st assist him with power to overcome thee, and by a welcom violence to wrest a blessing from thee.

O Look on Mee thy Servant, in infinite mercie, whom thou did'st once bless with the joint and sociated Devotions of others; whose fervencie might inflame the coldness of My Affections towards thee, when wee went to, or met in thy House, with the voice of joie and gladness, worshipping thee in the Unitie of spirits, and with the bond of Peace.

O Forgive the neglect, and not improoving of those happie opportunities.

It is now thy pleasure that I should bee as a Pelican in the wilderness; as a Sparrow on the house top; and as a coal scattered from all those pious glowings,



glowings, and devout reflections, which might best kindle, preserv, and increas the holie fire of thy graces on the Altar of My heart, whence the Sacrifice of Praiers, and Incens of Praises, might bee duly offered up to thee.

Yet, O thou that breakest not the bruised Reed, nor quenchest the smoaking Flax, do not despise the weakness of My Praiers, nor the smotherings of My Soul in this uncomfortable loneness; to which I am constrained by som men's uncharitable denials of those helps, which I much want, and no less desire.

O Let the hardness of their hearts occasion the softnings of Mine to thee, and for Them. Let their Hatred kindle My Love; let their unreasonable denials of My Religious desires the more excite My praiers to thee. Let their inexorable deafness incline thine ear to Mee; who art a God easie to bee entreated; thine ear is not heavie, that it cannot, nor thy heart hard, that it will not hear; nor thy hand short'ned, that it cannot help Mee thy desolate Suppliant.

Thou permittest men to deprive Mee of those outward means, which thou hast appointed in thy Church; but they cannot debar Mee from the communion of that inward grace, which thou alone breathest into humble hearts.

O make Mee such, and thou wilt teach Mee; thou wilt hear Mee; thou wilt help Mee: The broken and contrite heart, I know, thou wilt not despise.

Thou;

*Thou, O Lord, can'st at once make Mee thy Temple, thy Priest, thy Sacrifice, and thine Altar; while from an humble heart I (alone) daily offer up, in holie meditations, fervent praiers, and unfeined tears, My self to thee; who preparest Mee for thee, dwellest in Mee, and accepteſt of Mee.*

*Thou, O Lord, did'st cauſe, by ſecret ſupplies and miraculous infuſions, that the handful of meal in the veſſel ſhould not ſpend; nor the little oil in the cruſe fail the Widow, during the time of drought and dearth.*

*O look on My ſoul, which, as a Widow, is now deſolate and forſaken: let not thoſe ſaving Truths, I have formerly learned, now fail My memorie; nor the ſweet effuſions of thy Spirit, which I Have ſometime felt, now bee wanting to My Heart, in this famine of ordinarie and whoſom food, for the reſreſhing of My Soul.*

*Which yet I had rather chuſe, then to feed from thoſe hands who mingle My bread with aſhes, and My wine with gall; rather tormenting, then teaching Mee; whoſe mouths are proner to bitter reproaches of Mee, then to heartie praiers for Mee.*

*Then knoweſt, O Lord of Truth, how oft they wreſt thy Holie Scriptures to My deſtruction (which are clear for their ſubjection, and My preſervation) O let it not bee to their damnation.*

*Thou knoweſt how ſome men (under color of long praiers) have ſought to devour the houſes of their Brethren, their King, and their God.*

*O Let*

O Let not those men's balms break My head; nor their Cordials oppress My heart; I will evermore praie against their wickedness.

From the poison under their tongues, from the snares of their lips, from the fire, and the swords of their words ever deliver Mee, O Lord; and all those Loyal and Religious hearts, who desire and delight in the prosperitie of My soul, and who seek by their praiers to reliev this sadness and solitude of thy servant, O My King, and My God.

## 25. Penitential Meditations and Vows in the KING's solitude at Holmbie.

**G**ive ear to My words, O Lord, consider My Meditation; and hearken to the voice of My crie, My King and My God, for unto Thee will I praie.

I said, in My haste, I am cast out of the sight of thine eies; nevertheless thou hearest the voice of My supplication, when I crie unto Thee.

If thou Lord shouldst bee extreme to mark what is don amiss, who can abide it? But there is Mercie with Thee that Thou maiest bee feared; therefore shall sinners flie unto Thee.

I acknowledg My sins before Thee, which have the aggravation of My condition, the eminencie of My Place adding weight to My offenses.

Forgive

Forgive, I beseech Thee, My Personal and My People's sins; which are so far Mine, as I have not improved the power thou gavest Me, to thy glorie, and My Subject's good: Thou hast now brought Me from the glorie and freedom of a King to bee a Prisoner to My own Subjects: Hastly, O Lord, as to thy over-ruling hand, because in many things I have rebelled against thee.

Though Thou hast restrained My Person, yet enlarge My heart to thee, and thy grace towards Me.

I com far short of David's pietie; yet since I may equal David's afflictions, give Me also the comforts and the sure mercies of David.

Let the penitent sens I have of My sins; bee an evidence to Me, that thou hast pardoned them.

Let not the evils, which I and My Kingdoms have suffered, seem little unto thee; though thou hast not punished us according to our sins.

Turn thee (O Lord) unto Me; have mercie upon Me, for I am desolate and afflicted.

The sorrows of My heart are enlarged; O bring thou Me out of My troubles.

Hast thou forgotten to bee gracious, and shut up thy loving kindenes in displeasure?

O remember thy compassions of old, and thy loving kindenes, which have been for many generations.

I had utterly fainted, if I had not beleev'd to see thy goodnes in the land of the living.



Let not the want of our prosperitie deprive us of the benefit of thy afflictions.

Let this fierie trial consume the dross, which in long peace and plencie wee had contracted.

Though thou continuest miserie, yet withdraw not thy grace: what is wanting of prosperitie, make up in patience and repentance.

And if thy anger bee not yet to bee turned away, but thy hand of justice must bee stretched out still: Let it, I beseech thee, bee against mee, and My Fathers house; as for these sheep, what have they don?

Let My sufferings satiate the malice of Mine, and thy Churches enemies.

But let their crueltie never exceed the measure of My charitie.

Banish from mee all thoughts of Revonge, that I may not lose the reward, nor thou, the glorie of My patience.

As thou givest mee a heart to forgive them; so, I beseech thee, do thou forgive what they have don against thee and mee.

And now, O Lord, as thou hast given mee an heart to praie unto thee; so hear and accept this Vow, which I make before thee.

If thou wilt in mercie remember mee, and My Kingdoms, in continuing the light of thy Gospel, and settling Thy true Religion among us:

In restoring to us the benefit of the Laws, and the due execution of Justice.

In suppressing the many Schisms in Church,  
and Factions in State :

If thou wilt restore mee and mine to the Antient  
rights and glorie of My Bredecessors :

If thou wilt turn the hearts of My People to thy  
self in Pietie, to mee in Loyaltie, and to one ano-  
ther in Charitie :

If thou wilt quench the flames, and withdraw  
the sword of these Civil Wars :

If thou wilt bless us with the freedom of Publick  
Counsels, and deliver the Honor of Parliaments  
from the insolencie of the vulgar :

If thou wilt keep mee from the great offens of  
enacting anie thing against My Conscience, and  
especially from consenting to sacrilegious rapines  
and spoilings of thy Church :

If thou wilt restore mee to a capacitie to glorifie  
thee in doing good, both to the Church and State :

Then shall My soul prais thee, and magnifie thy  
name before My People :

Then shall thy glorie bee dearer to mee then My  
Crowns ; and the advancement of true Religion  
both in purity and power bee My chiefest care.

Then will I rule My People with Justice, and My  
Kingdoms with equitie :

To thy more immediate hand shall I ever ow  
at the rightfull succession, so the mercifull re-  
stitution of My Kingdoms, and the glorie of  
them.

If thou wilt bring mee again with peace, safetie,

and honor, to My chiefest Citie, and My Parlia-  
ment :

If thou wilt again put the Sword of Justice into  
My hand to punish and protect :

Then will I make all the world to see, and My  
verie Enemies to enioie the benefit of this Kne and  
resolution of Christian charitie, which I have made  
unto thee O Lord :

As I do freely pardon for Christ's sake whosoever  
hath offended mee in anie kind, so My hand shall  
never bee against anie man to revenge what is past,  
in regard of anie particular injurie done to mee :

Wee have been mutually punished in our na-  
tural divisions ; for thy sake, O Lord, and for  
the love of My Redeemer, have I purposed this  
in My heart, That I will use all means in the power  
of amnestie and indemnitie, which may most fully  
removv all fears, and burie all jealousies in forget-  
fulness.

Let thy mercies bee toward mee and Mine, as  
My resolutions of Truth and Peace are toward My  
people.

Hear My prayer, O Lord, which goeth not out of  
fained lips.

Blessed bee God, who hath not turned away My  
prayer, nor taken his mercie from mee :

O My soul, commit thy waie to the Lord, trust in  
him, and hee shall bring it to pass.

But if thou wilt not restore mee and Mine, what  
am I that I should charge thee foolishly :

Thou

Thou O Lord hast given, and thou hast taken,  
Blessed bee thy Name.

May my People and thy Church bee happie, if  
not by mee, yet without mee.

26. Upon the Armies Surprizal of the KING  
at Holmeby, and the ensuing distractions  
in the two Houses, the Armie, and the  
Cure.

W<sup>H</sup>at part God will have mee now to  
act or suffer in this new and strange  
scene of affairs, I am not much solicitous;  
my little practice will serv that man, who  
onely seek's to represent a part of honestie  
and honor.

This surprize of mee tell's the world, that a  
KING cannot bee so low, but mee is con-  
siderable; adding weight to that Parrie  
where mee appear's.

This motion, like others of the Times,  
seem's excentrick and irregular, yet not well  
to bee resisted or quieted: Better swim down  
such a stream, then in vain to strive against it.

These are but the strugglings of those twins,  
which lately one womb enclosed; the young-  
er striving to prevail against the elder: what  
the Presbyterians have hunted after, the In-  
dependents now seek to catch for themselves.



So impossible is it for lines to be drawn from the center, and not to divide from each other, so much the wider, by how much they go farther from the point of union.

That the Builders of *Babel* should from division fall to confusion, is no wonder; but for those that pretend to build *Jerusalem*, to divide their tongues and hands, is but an illomen; and sound's too like the fate of those Zealots, whose intestine bitterness and divisions were the greatest occasion of the last fatal destruction of that City.

Well may I change My Keepers and Prison, but not My captive condition; only with this hope of bettering, that those, who are so much professed Patrons for the People's Liberties, cannot be utterly against the Libertie of their King; what they demand for their own Consciences, they cannot in Reason denie to Mine.

In this they seem more ingenuous then the Presbyterian rigor, who, sometimes complaining of exacting their conformitie to Laws, are becom the greatest Exactors of other men's submission to their novel injunctions, before they are stamped with the Autoritie of Laws, which they cannot well have without My consent.

'Tis a great argument, that the Independents think themselves manumitted from their Rivals

Rival's service, in that they carrie on a business of such consequence, as the assuming My Person into the Armie's custodie, without anie Commission, but that of their own Will and Power. Such as will thus adventure on a King, must not bee thought over-modest, or timorous to carrie on anie design they have a minde to.

Their next motion menace's, and scare's both the two Houses and the Cittie: which, soon after, acting over again that former part of tumultuarie motions, (never questioned, punished, or repented of) must now suffer for both; and see their former sin in the glasse of the present terrors and distractions.

No man is so blinde as not to see herein the hand of divine Justice; they, that by Tumults first occasioned the raising of Armies, must now bee chastened by their own Armie for new Tumults.

So hardly can men bee content with one sin, but add sin to sin, till the later punish the former; such as were content to see Mee and manie Members of both Houses driv'n away by the first unsuppressed Tumults, are now forced to flee to an Armie, or defend themselves against them.

But who can unfold the riddle of some men's justice? The Members of both Houses who at first withdrew (as My self was forced to do)

from the rudeness of the Tumults were counted Delertors, and oured of their places in Parliament: Such as staid then, and enjoyed the benefit of the Tumults, were offered for the onely Parliament-men.

Now the Eliers from, and Forsakers of their Places, carrie the Parliamentarie power along with them; complain highly against the Tumults, and vindicate themselves by an Armie: Such as remained and kept their stations, are looked upon as Abettors of tumultuarie insolencies, and Betrayers of the freedom and honor of Parliament.

Thus is Power above all Rule, Order, and Law; where men look more to present Advantages, then their Consciencs; and the unchangeable rules of Justice: While they are Judges of others, they are forced to condemn themselves.

Now the plea against Tumults hold's good, the Autors and Abettors of them are guilty of prodigious insolencies; when as before, they were counted as Friends and necessarie Assistants.

I see Vengeance pursue's and overtake's (as the Mice and Rats are said to have don a Bishop in Germanie) them that thought to have escaped and fortified themselves, most impreguably against it, both by their multitude and compliance.

Whom

Whom the Law cannot, God will punish by their own crimes and hands so as not to sin. I cannot but observe this thing Justice yet with sorrow and pity, for I alwayes will not so well to Parliament and Cities, that I was sorry to see them do, or suffer any thing unworthie such great and considerable bodies in this Kingdom.

I was glad to see them vntuly feared and humbled, not puffed by thaustring. I never had so ill a thought of those Cities as to despair of their Loyaltie to the Crowne, whose stakes might eclipse, but I neuer believed that they had quite put out this light.

I praise God the storme being wholly passed over them, I upon whom I look as Christ did sometime over *Jerusalem*, his subjects of my prayers and tears, with compassionate grief, fore-seeing those severer scatterings which will certainly befall such as wantonly refuse to be gathered to their duties. *fall* blindnes frequently attending and punishing *fall* fully, so that men shall not be able at last to prevent their sorrows who would not timely repent of their sins; nor shall they be suffered to enioy their comforts, who scornfully neglect the counsels belonging to their peace. They will finde that Brethren in iniquitie are not far from becoming insolent enemies, there



there being nothing harder, then to keep ill men long in one mind.

Nor is it possible to gain a fair period for those notions which go rather in a round and circle of phanſie, then in a right line of reaſon tending to the Law, the only center of publick conſiſtencie; whether I praie God at laſt bring all ſides.

Which will eaſily bee don, when wee ſhall fully ſee how much more happy wee are, to bee ſubject to the known Laws, then to the various wills of ſonie men, ſeem they never ſo pleaſible at firſt.

Vulgar compliance with ſonie illegal and extravagant waies, like violent motions in nature, ſoon grow ſwearie of it ſelf, and ends in a refractorie ſullenneſs: People ſ rebound ſome oft in their faces, who firſt put them upon thoſe violent ſtrokes.

For the Armie (which is ſo far excuſable, as they act according to Souldiers principles and intereſts, demanding Paie and Indemnities) I think it neceſſarie, in order to the Publick peace, that they ſhould bee ſatisfied, as far as is juſt, no man being more prone to conſider them then My ſelf: though they have fought againſt mee, yet I cannot but ſo far eſteem that valor and gallantrie they have ſometime ſhewed, as to wiſh I may never

want

want such men to maintain My self, My  
Laws, and My Kingdoms in such a Peace, as  
wherein they may enioie their share and pro-  
portion as much as any men.

But thou, O Lord, who art perfect Iustice in a sa-  
cred Trinitie, in mercie behold those, whom thy  
Iustice hath divided.

Deliver mee from the stirrings of My People, and  
make mee to see how much they need thy prayers  
and pittie, who agree'd to fight against mee, and yet  
are now readie to fight against one another, to the  
continuance of My Kingdom's distractions.

Discover to all sides the wayes of Peace, from  
which they have swerved: which consist not in  
the divided wills of Parties, but in the joint and  
due obseruation of the Laws.

Make mee willing to go whither thou wilt lead  
mee by thy providence, and bee thou ever with  
mee, that I may see thy constancie in the world's  
varietie and changes.

Make mee even such as thou would'st haue  
mee, that I may at last enioie that safetie and tran-  
quillitie which thou alone canst give mee.

Divert, I praie thee, O Lord, thy heauie wrath  
justly hanging over those populous Citties, whose  
plentie is prone to add fewel to their luxurie, their  
wealth to make them wanton, their multitudes  
tempting them to securitie, and their securitie ex-  
posing them to unexpected miseries.

Give

Wrought them lies to see, demands to consider, wills to embrace, and courage to say those things which belong to thy glory and the publick peace; lest their calamities come upon them as an armed man.

Teach them, That they cannot want enemies without shame; in shame nor shall they bee long undismayed and un-destroyed; who, with a high hand persecuting us, fight against thee and the righteousness of their own consciences; fight not against themselves, when ever they did against thee, wisdom and strength, right of sinners upon sin.

Their sins exposing them to thy justice; their riches somewhat's injuries, their number to Terrors, and their Terrors to confusion; though they have with much forwardness helped to destroy mee, yet let not My fall bee their triumph, nor their victory of gallantry.

Let mee not so much consider, either what they have done, or I have suffered, (chiefly at first by them) as to forget to imitate My crucified Redeemer, to plead their ignorance for their pardon; and in My dying extremities to pray to thee, O Father, to forgive them, for they knew not what they did.

The cross they have denied mee in My saddest condition, gave them grace to bestow upon themselves; who the less they weep for mee, the more cause they have to weep for themselves.

O let not My blood bee upon them and their Children,







*Natus Maji 29. An. 1630. Etatis suæ 19.*

Children, whom the fraud and suggestion of some, not  
the malice of all, have crucified & crucified Me: O

But thou, O Lord, art just, and wilt say that I do  
My Redeemer's blood, and perfect Me by My  
sufferings, which have more in them of thy wound,  
then of man's cruelty, and thy own just do  
~~and now being in the~~

27. To the Prince of Wales.

Son! if these Papers I write to others,  
wherein I have set down the private re-  
flections of My Conscience, and My most  
impartial thoughts, touching the chief pas-  
sages, which have been most remarkable, or  
disputed in My late Troubles, come to Your  
hands, to whom they are chiefly design'd,  
they may bee so far useful to You, as to stir  
Your judgment aright in what hath passed,  
whereof a pious use is the best use can bee made;  
And they may also give you some directions,  
how to remedie the present distempers, and  
prevent (if God will) the like fortune to com.

It is some kinde of deceiving and lessening  
the injurie of My long restraint, when I finde  
My leisure and solitude have produced some-  
thing worthie of My self, and useful to You;  
That neither You, nor anie other, may here-  
after measure My Cause by the Success; nor  
My Judgment of things by My misfortunes;  
which I count the greater by far, because they  
have

have so far lighted upon You, and some Others, whom I have most cause to love as well as My self, and of whose unscripted sufferings I have a greater sense than of Mine own.

But this advantage of wisdom You have above most Princes, that You have begun, and now spent some years of discretion, in the experience of Troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein Pietie, and all Virtues, both Moral and Political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as Trees set in winter, than in warmth and serenity of times; or amidst those delights, which usually attend Prince's Courts in times of Peace and Plentie, which are prone, either to root up all plants of true Virtue and Honor, or to be contented only with some leavys, and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the Publick good, for which Princes should alwaies remember they are born, and by providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holie Writ afford's us in the contemplation of *David* and *Rehoboam*: The one prepared by manie afflictions for a flourishing Kingdom; the other softened by the unparallel'd prosperitie of *Salomon's* Court, and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for Peace, Honor, and Kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as unseparable from prosperous Princes,

Princes, as Flies are from Fruit in Summer;  
whom aduersitie, like cold weather, drive's  
away.

I had rather You should bee *Charles le Bon*,  
then *le Grand*, good, then great; I hope God  
hath designed You to bee both; having so  
early put You into that exercise of his Gra-  
ces and Gifts bestowed upon You, which  
may best weed out all vicious inclinations;  
and dispose You to those Princelie indow-  
ments, and employments, which will most  
gain the love, and intend the welfare of those,  
over whom God shall place You.

With God I would have You begin & end,  
who is King of Kings; the Sovereign Dispo-  
ser of the Kingdoms of the World; who pul-  
leth down One, and setteth up Another.

The best Government, and highest Sove-  
reigntie You can attein to, is, to bee subject to  
him; that the Scepter of his Word and Spirit  
may rule in Your heart.

The true glorie of Princes consist's in ad-  
vancing God's Glorie in the maintenance of  
true Religion, and the Church's Good; Also  
in the dispensation of civil Power, with Ju-  
stice and Honor, to the publick Peace.

Pietie will make You prosperous; at least  
it will keep You from beeing miserable; nor  
is hee much a loser, that loseth all, yet saveth  
his own soul at last.

To



To which center of true happiness, God hath, and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction, which hee hath been pleased to draw on mee, and by which hee hath (I hope) drawn mee nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that Cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I flow upon as God's Physick, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have You, as I hope You are already, wel-grounded and settled in Your Religion. The best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the *Church of England*, in which You have been educated; yet I would have Your own Judgment and Reason now seal to that sacred bond which education hath written; that it may bee judiciously Your own Religion, and not other men's custom or tradition which You profess.

In this I charge You to persevere, as coming nearest to God's Word for Doctrine, and to the Primitive Examples for Government, with some little amendment, which I have elsewhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of Religion will not bee more necessarie for Your Souls then Your Kingdoms Peace, when God shall bring You to them.

For I have observed, that the Devil of Rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an Angel

Angel of reformation, and the old Serpent can pretend new Lights: When som men's Consciencs accusethem for Sedition and Faction, they stop its mouth with the name and nois of Religion; when Pietie plead's for peace and parience, they crie out Zeal.

So that, unless in this point You bee well settled, You shall never want temptations to destroe You and Yours, under pretension of Reforming matters of Religion: for that seem's even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the Noveltie which is taking enough with the Vulgar, everie one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward Reformation of Religion, to bee thought Zealous, hoping to cover those irreligious deformities, whereto they are conscious, by a severitie of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting anie Factions, or applying to anie publick Discriminations in matters of Religion, contrarie to what is in Your Judgment, & the Churches wel settled; Your partial adhering, as Head, to anie one Side, gain's You not so great advantages in som men's hearts (who are prone to bee of their King's Religion) as it loseth You in others; who think themselvs and their pro-

fession first despised, then persecuted by you: Take such a courſe as may either with calmneſs and charitie quite remoov the ſeeming differences and offenses by impartialitie; or ſo order affairs in point of Power that You ſhall not need to fear or flatter anie Faction. For, if ever you ſtand in need of them, or muſt ſtand to their Courteſie, you are undone: The Serpent will devour the Dove: You may never expect leſs of Loyaltie, Juſtice, or Humanity, then from thoſe, who engage into Religious Rebellion; Their intereſt is alwaies made God's; under the Colors of Pietie, ambitious policies March, nor onely with greateſt ſecuritie, but applauſe, as to the populace; You may hear from them *Jacob's* voice, but You ſhall feel they have *Eſau's* hands.

Nothing ſeemed leſs conſiderable then the Presbyterian Faction in England, for many years; ſo compliant they were to Publick order: nor indeed was their Partie great either in Church or State, as to men's judgments: But as ſoon as diſcontents drave men into Sidings, as ill humors fall to the diſaffected part, which cauſe's inflammations, ſo did all, at firſt, who affected anie Novelties, adhere to that Side, as the moſt remarkable and ſpecious note of difference (then) in point of Religion.

All the leſſer Factions at firſt were officious  
 Servants

Servants to Presbyterie, their great Master: till time and militarie success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes; and, leaving the joint stock of uniform Religion, they pretended each to drive for their Partie the trade of profits and preferments; to the breaking and undoing not onely of the Church and State; but even of Presbyterie it self, which seemed and hoped at first to have ingrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to You in matters which concern Religion and the Church's peace, so as to neglect a speedie reforming and effectual suppressing Errors and Schisms: What seem at first but as a hand-bredth, by seditious Spirits, as by strong windes, are soon made to cover and darken the whole Heaven.

When you have don Justice to God, Your own Soul and his Church, in the profession and preservation both of Truth and Unitie in Religion; the next main hinge on which your prosperitie will depend, and move, is, That of Civil Justice, wherein the settled Laws of these Kingdoms, to which you are rightly Heir, are the most excellent Rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give verie much to Subject's industrie, libertie, and happiness; and yet reserv enough to the Majestic and prerogative of anie King, who own's



his People as Subjects, not as Slaves ; whose subjection, as it preserv's their Propertie, Peace, and Safetie, so it will never diminish your Rights, nor their ingenuous Liberties: which consist in the enjoiment of the fruits of their industrie, and the benefit of those Laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your Head with such a Crown, as shall by its heaviness oppress the whole bodie, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anie thing of strength, honor, or safetie to the Head, but a necessarie debilitation and ruine.

Your Prerogative is best shewed and exercised in remitting, rather then exacting the rigor of the Laws ; there beeing nothing worse then Legal Tyrannie.

In these two points, the preservation of established Religion and Laws, I may (without vanitie) turn the reproach of My sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honor of a kinde of *Martyrdom*, as to the testimonie of My own Conscience ; the Troublers of My Kingdom having nothing els to object against Mee but this, That I prefer Religion, and Laws established before those Alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better Arguments, then what hitherto

hitherto have been chiefly used towards Mee, Tumults, Armies, and Prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, That it is safe for a King to gratifie anie Faction with the perturbation of the Laws, in which is wrapt up the Publike Interest, and the Good of the Community.

How God will deal with Mee, as to the remooval of these pressures and indignities, which his Justice, by the verie unjust hands of som of My Subjects, hath been pleased to laie upon Mee, I cannot tell: nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from Men, while I retien in My soul, what I believ is right before G o d.

I have offered all for Reformation and Safetie, that in Reason, Honor, and Conscience I can; reserving onely what I cannot consent unto, without an irreparable injurie to My own Soul, the Church, and My People; and You also, as the next and undoubted Heir of My Kingdoms.

To which if the divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall, in his due time, after My decess, bring You, as I hope Hee will, My Counsel & Charge to You is, That You seriously consider the former real, or objected miscarriages, which might occasion My troubles, that You may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon anie man's single counsel, fidelitie, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude, (that is, matters of Religion and Justice) as to create in Your self, or others, a diffidence of Your own judgment, which is likelie to bee alwaies more constant and impartial to the interests of Your Crown and Kingdom then anie man's.

Next, beware of exasperating anie Factions by the crossness, and asperitie of som men's passions, humors, or private opinions, imploied by You, grounded onely upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of Religion.

Wherein a charitable connivence and Christian toleration often dissipate's their strength, whom rougher opposition fortifie's, and put's the despised and oppressed Partie into such Combinations, as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their Persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration, which attend's all, that are said to suffer under the notion of Religion.

Provided, the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of Laws and Government, or Religion established, as to the essentials of them: Such motions and minings are intolerable.

Alwaies keep up Solid Pietie, and those fundamental Truths, which mend both hearts and lives of men, with impartial favor and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of Religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industrie, and pietie; but, with an equal eye, and impartial hand, distribute favors and rewards to all men, as you finde them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelitie worthie and capable of them.

This will bee sure to gain You the hearts of the best and the most too; who, though they bee not good themselvs, yet are glad to see the severer waies of virtue at anie time sweetned by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different & opposite Factions; (for so I must needs call and count all those, that act not in anie conformitie to the Laws established, in Church and State) no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their Common Enemy, (that is, all those that adhered to the Laws, and to Mee) and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalrie, as set's them more at defiance against each other, then against their first Antagonist.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once



the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves; which were at first wrap't up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of Religion, Reformation, and Libertie: As the Wolf is not less cruel, so hee will bee more justly hated, when hee shall appear no better then a Wolf under Sheep's cloathing.

But as for the seduced Train of the Vulgar, who in their simplicities follow those disguises, My Charge and Counsel to You is, That, as You need no palliations for anie Designs, (as other men) so You studie really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of Goodness, Pietie, and Virtue, towards the People) even all those men, that make the greatest nois and ostentations of Religion; so You shall neither fear anie detection, (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness) nor shall You frustrate the just expectations of Your People; who cannot in Reason promise themselves so much good from anie Subject's Novelties, as from the virtuous constancie of their King.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the Sun-shine of God's mercie, and the splendor of Your virtues, bee thawed and dissipated; and the abused Vulgar shall have learned, That none are greater Oppres-

fors

fors of their Estates, Liberties, and Consciences then those men, that entitle themselves The Patrons and Vindicators of them, onely to usurp power over them; Let then no passion betray You to anie studie of Revenge upon those, whose own sin and follie will sufficiently punish them in due time.

But as soon as the forked Arrow of Factious Emulations is drawn out, use all Princelie Arts and Clemencie to heal the Wounds; that the smart of the Cure may not equal the anguish of the Hurt.

I have offered Acts of Indemnitie and Oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be anie waie obnoxious to the Laws, and which might serv to exclude all future Jealousies and insecurities.

I would have You alwaies propens to the same waie; when ever it shall bee desired and accepted, let it bee granted, not onely as an Act of State-Policie and Necessitie, but of Christian Charitie and Choise.

It is all I have now left Mee, a Power to forgive those, that have deprived Mee of all; and I thank God, I have a Heart to do it; and joie as much in this Grace, which God hath giv'n Mee, as in all My former enjoiments; for this is a greater argument of God's Love to Mee, then anie Prosperitie can bee.

Bee

Bee confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have don amiss, have don so, not out of malice; but mis-information, or mis-apprehension of things.

None will bee more loyal and faithful to Mee and You, then those Subjects, who sensible of their Errors, and our Injuries, will feel in their own Souls most vehement motives to repentance; and earnest desires to make som reparations for their former defects.

As Your qualitie set's You beyond anie Duel with anie Subject; so the nobleness of Your minde must rais You above the meditating anie revenge, or executing Your anger upon the Manie.

The more conscious You shall bee to Your own merits, upon Your People; the more prone You will bee to expect all Love and Loyaltie from them; and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages: You will have more inward complacencie in pardoning one, then in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's Mercie, and My Subject's affections towards You; both which, I hope, You will studie to deserv; yet Wee cannot merit of God, but by his own Mercie.

If God shall see fit to restore Mee, and You after Mee, to those enjoiments, which the  
Laws

Laws have assigned to Us; and no Subjects without an high degree of guilt and sin can devest Us of; then may I have better opportunitie when I shall bee so happie to see You in peace, to let You more fully understand the things that belong to God's glorie, Your own honor, and the Kingdom's peace.

But, if You never see My face again, and God will have Mee buried in such a barbarous Imprisonment and obscuritie, (which the perfecting som men's designs require's) wherein few hearts that love Mee are permitted to exchange a word, or a look with Mee, I do require and entreat You as your Father, and your KING, that You never suffer Your heart to receiv the least check against, or disaffection from the true Religion established in the Church of *England*.

I tell You, I have tried it, and after much search, and manie disputes, have concluded it to bee the best in the world; not onely in the Communitie, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as reformed; keeping the middle waie between the pomp of superstitious Tyrannie, and the meanness of fantastick Anarchie.

Not but that (the draught beeing excellent as to the main, both for Doctrin and Government, in the Church of *England*) som lines, as in verie good figures, may haply need som



some sweet'ning, or polishing; which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand; if some men's precipitancie had not violently demanded such rude Alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the Beautie and Proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late Troubles, which some may object and urge to You against the Protestant-Religion established in *England*, is easily Answered to them, or Your own thoughts, in this, That scarce anie one who hath been a Beginner, or an active Prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Mees, either was, or is a true Lover, Embracer, or Practiser of the Protestant-Religion, established in *ENGLAND*: which neither give's such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening Petitions to their Princes and Parliaments, which others of the same Faction (but of worse Spirits) have now put in Execution: but let not counterfeited and disorderlie Zeal abate Your value and esteem of true Pietie; both of them are to be known by their Fruits; the sweetness of the Vine and Fig-tree is not to be despised, though the Brambles and Thorns should pretend to bear Figs and Grapes, thereby to rule over the Trees.

Nor would I have You to entertain anie averſation, or diſlike of Parliaments; which, in their right conſtitution with Freedom and Honor, will never injure or diminifh Your Greatneſs, but will rather bee as interchangeings of Love, Loyaltie, and Confidence, between a Prince, and His People.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other then ſuch (however much biaſſed by Factions in the Elections) if it had been preſerved from the inſolencies of Popular dictates, and tumultuarie impreſſions: The ſad effects of which, will no doubt, make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preſerv that Freedom and Honor, which belong's to ſuch Aſſemblies (when once they have fully ſhaken off this yoke of Vulgar encroachment) ſince the Publick intereſt conſiſt's in the mutual and common good both of Prince and People.

Nothing can bee more happie for all, then, in fair, grave, and Honorable waies, to contribute their Counſels in Common, enacting all things by Publick Conſent, without Tyrannie or Tumults. Wee muſt not ſtary our ſelves, becauſ ſom men have ſurſeited of whoſſom food.

And if neither I, nor You, bee ever reſtored to Our Right, but God, in his ſevereſt Juſtice, will puniſh My Subjects with continuance in  
their

their sin; and suffer them to bee deluded with the prosperitie of their wickedness; I hope God will give Mee, and You, that grace, which will teach and enable Us, to want, as well as to wear a Crown; which is not worth taking up, or enjoying, upon sordid, dishonorable, and irreligious terms.

Keep You to true principles of pietie, virtue, and honor; You shall never want a Kingdom.

A principal point of Your honor will consist in Your deferring all respect, love, and protection to Your Mother My Wife, who hath manie waies deserved well of Mee, and chiefly in this, that (having been a means to bless Mee with so manie hopeful Children; (all which, with their Mother, I recommend to Your love and care) Shee hath been content with incomparable magnanimitie and patience to suffer both for, and with Mee, and You.

My praier to God Almighty is, (whatever becom's of Mee, who am, I thank God, wrap't up and fortified in My own Innocencie, and his Grace) that hee would bee pleased to make You an Anchor, or Harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten Kingdoms; a Repairer by Your Wisdom, Justice, Pietie, Valor, of what the follie and wickedness of som men have so far ruined, as to  
leav

leav nothing entire in Church or State; to the Crown, the Nobilitie, the Clergie, or the Commons; either as to Laws, Liberties, Estates, Order, Honor, Conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed Mee, (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and crueltie of My Enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions som men's words and actions have already given Mee) as I doubt not but My blood will crie aloud for vengeance to heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generalitie of the People, who have either deserted Mee, or engaged against Mee, through the Artifice and hypocrisie of their Leaders, whose inward horror will bee their first Tormentor; nor will they escape Exemplarie judgments.

For those that loved Mee, I praise God they may have no miss of Mee, when I am gon; so much I wish and hope, that all good Subjects may bee satisfied with the blessings of Your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of anie defects in their Dutie toward Mee, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian King; so I believ You will finde them truly Zealous, to repaie, with interest, that loyaltie and love to You, which was Due to Mee.

In sum, what good I intended, do You Perform, when God shall give You Power:  
much



much good I have offered, more I purposed to Church and State, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the Vizards will fall off apace; This Mask of Religion on the face of Rebellion (for so it now plainly appear's, since My Restraint and cruel usage, that they sought not for Mee, as was pretended) will not long serv to hide some men's deformities.

Happie times, I hope, attend You, wherein Your Subjects (by their miseries) will have learned, *That Religion to their God, and Loyaltie to their King, cannot bee parted, without both their sin and their infelicitie.*

I praie God bless you and establish Your Kingdoms in righteousness, Your Soul in true Religion, and Your honor in the love of God and Your People.

And if God will have disloyaltie perfected by My destruction, let My memorie ever, with My Name, live in You; as of Your Father, that love's You: and once a KING of three flourishing Kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honor, not onely with the Scepter and Government of them, but also with the Suffering manie indignities and an untimelie Death for them; while I studied to preserv the Rights of the Church, the power of the Laws, the honor of My Crown,  
the

the priviledg of Parliaments, the liberties of My People, and My own Conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to Mee then a thousand Kingdoms.

I know God can, I hope hee yet will restore Mee to My Rights. I cannot despair either of his Mercie, or of My People's love and pittie.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before You to a better Kingdom, which God hath prepared for Mee, and Mee for it, through My Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose Mercies I commend You and all Mine.

Farewel, till Wee meet, if not on Earth, yet in Heaven.

*28. Meditations upon Death, after the Votes of Non-Addresses, and His MAJESTIE's closer imprisonment in Carisbrook-Castle.*

**A**S I have leasure enough, so I have cause more then enough to meditate upon, and prepare for My death: for I know there are but few steps between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes.

It is God's indulgence, which give's Mee the space, but Man's crueltie, that give's Mee the sad occasions for these thoughts.

For, besides the common burthen of mortalitie, which lie's upon Mee, as a Man; I now bear the heavie load of other men's ambitions,

bitions, fears, jealousies, and cruel passions; whose envie, or enmitie against Mee make's their own lives seem deadlie to them, while I enjoie anie part of Mine.

I thank God, My prosperitie made Mee not wholly a Stranger to the contemplations of mortalitie :

Those are never unseasonable, since this is alwaies uncertain : Death beeing an eclips, which oft happ'neth as well in clear, as cloudie daies.

But My now long and sharp adversitie hath so reconciled in Mee those natural Antipathies between Life and Death, which are in all men ; that, I thank God, the common terrors of it are dispelled; and the special horror of it, as to My particular, much allaiied : for, although My death at present may justly bee represented to Mee with all those terrible aggravations, which the policie of cruel and implacable enemies can put upon it, (affairs beeing drawn to the verie dregs of malice) yet, I bless God, I can look upon all those stings, as unpoisonous, though sharp ; since My Redeemer hath either pulled them out, or giv'n Mee the Antidote of his Death against them ; which, as to the immaturitie, unjustice, shame, scorn, and crueltie of it, exceeded whatever I can fear.

Indeed, I never did finde so much the life of  
Religion,

Religion, the feast of a good Conscience, and the brazen wall of a judicious integritie and constancie, as since I came to these closer conflicts with the thoughts of Death.

I am not so old, as to bee wearie of life; nor (I hope) so bad, as to bee either afraid to die, or ashamed to live: true, I am so afflicted, as might make Mee sometime even desire to die, if I did not consider, That it is the greatest glorie of a Christian's life to *die daily*, in conquering, by a livelie faith, and patient hopes of a better life, those partial and quotidian deaths, which kill us (as it were) by piecemeals, and make us over-live our own fates; while Wee are deprived of health, honor, libertie, power, credit, safetie, or estate, and those other comforts of dearest relations, which are as the life of our lives.

Though, as a KING, I think My self to live in nothing temporal so much, as in the love and good-will of My People; for which as I have suffered manie deaths, so I hope I am not in that point as yet wholly dead: notwithstanding My Enemies have used all the poison of falsitie and violence of hostilitie to destroe, first, the love and Loialtie, which is in My Subjects; and then all that content of life in Mee, which from these I chiefly enjoied.

Indeed, they have left Mee but little of life,



and onely the husk and shell (as it were) which their further malice and crueltie can take from Mee; having bereaved Mee of all those worldlie comforts, for which life it self seem's desirable to men.

But, O My Soul! think not that life too long, or tedious, wherein God give's thee anie opportunities, if not to do, yet to suffer with such Christian patience and magnanimitie in a good Caus, as are the greatest honor of our lives, and the best improovment of our deaths.

I know that, in point of true Christian valor, it argue's pusillanimitie to desire to die, out of weariness of life; and a want of that Heroick greatness of spirit which becom's a Christian in the patient and generous sustaining those afflictions, which as shadows necessarily attend us, while we are in this bodie; and which are lessened or enlarged as the Sun of our prosperitie move's higher, or lower: whose total absence is best recompensed with the Dew of Heaven.

The assaults of affliction may bee terrible, like *Sampson's* Lion, but they yeeld much sweetness to those that dare to encounter and overcome them; who know how to overcome the witherings of their Gourds without discontent or peevishness, while they may yet converse with God.

That

That I must die as a Man, is certain; that I may die a King, by the hands of My own Subjects, a violent, sudden, and barbarous death, in the strength of My years, in the mid'st of My Kingdoms, My Friends and loving Subjects beeing helpless Spectators, My Enemies insolent Revilers and Triumphers over Mee, living, dying, and dead, is so probable in humane reason, that God hath taught Mee not to hope otherwise, as to man's crueltie; however, I despair not of God's infinite Mercie.

I know My Life is the object of the Devil's and wicked men's malice; but yet under God's sole custodie and disposal: Whom I do not think to flatter for longer life by seeming prepared to die; but I humbly desire to depend upon him, and to submit to his will both in life and death, in what order soever he is pleased to laie them out to Mee. I confess it is not easie for Mee to contend with those manie horrors of death, wherewith God suffer's Mee to bee tempted; which are equally horrid, either in the suddenness of a barbarous Assassination; or in those greater formalities, whereby My Enemies (beeing more solemnly cruel) will, it may bee, seek to add (as those did who crucified Christ) the mockerie of Justice, to the crueltie of Malice: That I may bee destroied, as with greater

pomp and artifice, so with less pittie, it will bee but a necessarie policie to make My death appear as an Act of Justice don by Subject's upon their Sovereign; who know that no Law of God or Man invest's them with anie power of Judicature without Mee, much less against Mee: and who, beeing sworn and bound by all that is sacred before God and man to endeavour My preservation, must pretend Justice to cover their Perjurie.

It is, indeed, a sad fate for anie man to have his Enemies to bee Accusers, Parties, and Judges; but most desperate, when this is acted by the insolence of Subject's against their Sovereign: wherein those, who have had the chiefeest hand, and are most guiltie of contriving the publick Troubles, must by shedding My blood seem to wash their own hands of that innocent blood, whereof they are now most evidently guiltie before God and man; and, I believ, in their own consciences too; while they carried on unreasonable demands, first by Tumults, after by Armies. Nothing make's mean spirits more cowardly-cruel in managing their usurped power against their lawful Superiors, then this, the *Guilt of their unjust Usurpation*; notwithstanding those specious and popular pretensions of Justice against Delinquents, applied onely to disguise at first the monstrousness of their designs,

signs, who despaired, indeed, of possessing the power and profits of the Vineyard, till the Heir, whose right it is, bee cast out and slain.

With them My greatest fault must bee, that I would not either destroie My self with the Church and State by My Word; or not suffer them to do it, unresisted by the Sword; whose covetous ambition no Concessions of Mine could ever yet, either satisfie, or abate.

Nor is it likelie they will ever think, that Kingdom of brambles, which som men seek to erect (at once, weak, sharp, and fruitless, either to God or man) is like to thrive till watered with the Royal blood of those, whose right the Kingdom is.

Well, God's will bee done: I doubt not but My Innocencie will finde him both My Protector and My Advocate, who is My only Judg; whom I own as King of Kings, not onely for the Eminencie of his Power and Majestie above them; but also for that singular Care and Protection, which hee hath over them: who knowe's them to bee exposed to as manie dangers (beeing the greatest Patrons of Law, Justice, Order, and Religion on Earth) as there bee either Men or Devils, which love confusion.

Nor will hee suffer those men long to prosper in their *Babel*, who build it with the bones, and cement it with the blood of their Kings.



I am confident they will finde Avengers of My death among themselvys: the injuries I have susteined from them shall bee first punished by them, who agree'd in nothing so much as in opposing Mee.

Their impatience to bear the loud crie of My blood shall make them think no waile better to explate it; then by shedding their's, who with them most thirsted after Mine.

The sad confusions, following My destruction, are already presaged and confirmed to Mee by those I have lived to see since My Troubles; in which God alone (who onely could) hath manie wailes pleaded My caus; not suffering them to go unpunished; whose confederacie in sin was their onely securitie; who have caus to fear that God will both further divide, and by mutual vengeance, afterward destroye them.

My greatest conquest of Death is from the power and love of Christ; who hath swallow'd up Death in the victorie of his Resurrection, and the glorie of his Ascension.

My next comfort is, that he give's Mee not onely the honor to imitate his example in suffering for righteousness sake, (though obscured by the foulest charges of Tyrannie and Injustice) but also that charitie, which is the noblest revenge upon, and victorie over My Destroyers: By which, I thank God, I can  
both

both forgive them, and praise for them, that God would not impute My blood to them further then to convince them; what need they have of Christ's blood to wash their souls from the guilt of shedding Mine.

At present, the will of My Enemies seem's to bee their onely rule, their power the measure, and their success the Exactor of what they pleas to call Justice; while they flatter themselves with the Fancie of their own safetie by My Danger, and the securitie of their lives and designs by My Death; forgetting that, as the greatest temptations to sin are wrapped up in seeming prosperities; so the severest vengeance of God are then most accomplished, when men are suffered to complete their wicked purposes.

I blefs God, I praise not so much, that this bitter cup of a violent death may pass from Mee, as that of his wrath may pass from all those, whose hands, by deserting Mee, are sprinkled, or, by acting and consenting to My death, are embued with My blood.

The will of God hath confined and concluded Mine; I shall have the pleasure of dying, without anie pleasure of desired vengeance.

This, I think, becom's a Christian toward his Enemies; and a King toward his Subjects.

They cannot deprive Mee of more then I  
am

am content to lose, when God see's fit by their hands to take it from Mee; whose Mercie, I believ, will more then infinitely recompens what ever by man's injustice hee is pleased to deprive Mee of.

The glorie attending My death will far surpass all I could enioie, or conceiv in life.

I shall not want the heavie and envied Crowns of this world, when My God hath mercifully crowned and consummated his graces with glorie, and exchanged the shadows of My earthlie Kingdoms among men, for the substance of that heavenlie Kingdom with Himself.

For the censures of the world; I know the sharp and necessarie Tyrannie of My Destroyers wil sufficiently confute the calumnies of Tyrannie against Mee; I am perswaded I am happie in the judicious love of the ablest and best of My Subjects, who do not onely Pittie and Praie for Mee, but would bee content even to Die with Mee, or for Mee.

These know, how to excuse My failings, as a man; and yet to retein, and paie their dutie to Mee as their King; there beeing no Religious necessitie binding anie Subjects, by pretending to punish, infinitely to exceed the faults and errors of their Princes; especially there, where more then sufficient satisfaction hath been made to the publick; the enjoiment  
of

of which, private ambitions have hitherto frustrated.

Others, I believ, of softer tempers, and less advantaged by My ruine, do already feel sharp Convictions, and som remorse in their Consciences; where they cannot but see the proportions of their evil dealings against Mee in the Measure of God's retaliations upon them; who cannot hope long to enioie their own thumbs and toes, having, under pretens of paring other's nails, been so cruel as to cut off their chiefeft strength.

The punishment of the more insolent and obstinate may bee like that of *Korah* and his complices (at once mutining against both Prince and Priest) in such a method of divine Justice, as is not ordinarie; the earth of the lowest and meanest people op'ning upon them, and swallowing them up in a just disdain of their ill-gotten and worst-used Authority: upon whose support and strength they chiefly depended for their building and establishing their designs against Mee, the Church, and State.

My chiefeft comfort in death consist's in My Peace, which, I trust, is made with God; before whose exact Tribunal I shall not fear to appear, as to the Cause so long disputed by the Sword, between Mee and My causeless enemies: where, I doubt not, but, his righteous judgment



judgment will confute their fallacie, who from worldlie success (rather like Sophisters, then sound Christians) draw those popular conclusions for God's approbation of their actions; whose wise providence (we know) oft permit's manie events, which his revealed Word (the onely clear, safe, and fixed Rule of good actions and good consciences) in no sort approve's.

I am confident, the Justice of My Cause, and cleanness of My Conscience before God and toward My People, will carrie Mee, as much above them in God's decision, as their successes have lifted them above Mee in the Vulgar opinion: who consider not, that, manie times, those undertakings of men are lifted up to Heaven in the prosperitie and applaus of the world; whose rise is from Hell, as to the injuriousness & oppression of the design. The prosperous windes, which oft fill the sails of Pirates, do not justifie their Piracie and rapine.

I look upon it, with infinite more content and quiet of Soul, to have been worsted in My enforced contestation for, and vindication of the Laws of the Land, the Freedom and honor of Parliaments, the Rights of My Crown, the just libertie of My Subject's, and the true Christian Religion in its Doctrine, Government and due encouragements, then if I had, with the greatest advantages of success,

cess, over-born them all ; as som men have now evidently don, whatever designs they at first pretended.

The prayers and patience of My Friends and loving Subjects will contribute much to the sweetning of this bitter cup , which I doubt not but I shal more cheerfully take, and drink as from God's hand (if it must bee so) then they can give it to Mee, whose hands are unjustly & barbarously lifted up against Mee.

And, as to the last event, I may seem to ow more to My Enemies , then My Friends ; while those will put a period to the sins and sorrows attending this miserable life, where-with these desire I might still contend.

I shall bee more then Conqueror through Christ enabling Mee ; for whom I have hitherto suffered, as hee is the Autor of Truth, Order, and Peace ; for all which I have been forced to contend, against Error, Faction, and Confusion.

If I must suffer a violent death, with My Saviour, it is but Mortalitie crowned with Martyrdom : where the debt of death, which I ow for sin to nature, shall bee raised as a gift of faith and patience offered to God.

Which I humbly beseech him mercifully to accept ; And, although death bee the wages of My own sin, as from God, and the effect of other's sins, as men, both against God and  
Mee ;

Mee; yet, as I hope, My own sins are so remitted, that they shall bee no ingredients to imbitter the cup of My death; so I desire God to pardon their sins, who are most guiltie of My destruction.

The Trophées of My charitie will bee more glorious and durable over them, then their ill-managed victories over Mee.

Though their sin bee Prosperous, yet they had need to bee Penitent, that they may bee Pardoned: Both which I praie God they may obtain; that My temporal death, unjustly inflicted by them, may not bee revenged by God's just inflicting eternal death upon them: for I look upon the temporal destruction of the greatest King, as far less deprecable; then the eternal damnation of the meanest Subject.

Nor do I wish other, then the safe bringing of the ship to shore, when they have cast Mee over-board; though it bee verie strange, that Mariners can finde no other means to appease the storm themselves have raised, but by drowning their Pilot.

I thank God, My enemies crueltie cannot prevent My Preparation; whose malice in this I shall defeat, that they shall not have the satisfaction to have destroyed My Soul with My Bodie; of whose salvation while some of them have themselves seemed, and taught others

others to Despair, they have onely discovered this, that they do not much Desire it.

Whose uncharitable and cruel Restraints, denying Mee even the assistance of anie of My Chaplains, hath rather enlarged, then anie waie obstructed My access to the Throne of Heaven.

*Where thou dwellest, O King of Kings; who fillest Heaven and Earth; who art the fountain of Eternal life; in whom is no shadow of death.*

*Thou O God art both the just Inflicter of death upon us; and the merciful Saviour of us in it, and from it.*

*Yea, it is better for us to bee dead to our selves, and live in thee; then by living in our selves to bee deprived of thee.*

*O make the manie bitter Aggravations of My death as a Man, and a King, the opportunities and advantages of thy special graces and comforts in My Soul, as a Christian.*

*If thou Lord wilt bee with Mee, I shall neither fear, nor feel anie evil, though I walk through the vallie of the shadow of death.*

*To contend with death is the work of a weak and mortal man; to overcome it, is the grace of thee alone, who art the Almighty and Immortal God.*

*O My Saviour, who knowest what it is to die  
with*



with Mee as a Man; make Mee to know what it is to pass through death to life with thee My God.

Though I die, yet I know that thou My Redeemer livest for ever: though thou slaiest Mee, yet thou hast encouraged Mee to trust in thee for eternal life.

O withdraw not thy favor from Mee, which is better then life.

O bee not far from Mee, for I know not how neer a violent and cruel death is to Mee.

As thy Omniscience, O God, discover's, so thy Omnipotence can defeat the designs of those, who have, or shall conspire My destruction.

O shew Mee the goodness of thy will, through the wickedness of their's.

Thou givest Mee leav as a man to praie, that this cup may pass from Mee; but thou hast taught Mee as a Christian by the example of Christ to add, not My will, but thine bee don.

Yea, Lord, let our wills bee one, by wholly resolving mine into thine: let not the desire of life in Mee bee so great, as that of doing or suffering thy will, in either life or death.

As I believ thou hast forgiv'n all the errors of My life; so I hope thou wilt save Mee from the terrors of My death.

Make Mee content to leav the world's nothing, that I may com really to enjoie all in thee, who hast made Christ unto Mee in life, gain; and in death, advantage.

Though

Though My Destroyers forget their Dutie to thee and Mee; yet do not thou, O Lord, forget to bee Merciful to them.

For what profit is there in My blood, or in their gaining My Kingdoms, if they lose their own Souls?

Such as have not onely resisted My just Power, but wholly usurped and turned it against My self, though they may deserve, yet let them not receive to themselves damnation.

Thou mad'st thy Son a Saviour to manie that crucified Him, while at once he suffered Violently by them, and yet Willingly for them.

O let the voice of his blood bee heard for My Murtherers, louder then the crie of Mine against them.

Prepare them for thy Mercie by due convictions of their sin; and let them not at once deceive and damn their own Souls by fallacious pretensions of Justice in destroying Mee, while the conscience of their unjust usurpation of power against Mee chiefly tempt's them to use all extremities against Mee.

O Lord, thou knowest I have found their mercies to Mee as verie fals, so verie cruel; who, pretending to preserve Me, have meditated nothing but My ruine.

O deal not with them as blood-thirstie and deceitful men; but overcome their crueltie with thy compassion, and My charitie.

*And when thou makest inquisition for My blood, O sprinkle their polluted, yet penitent, Souls with the blood of thy Son, that thy destroying Angel may pass over them.*

*Though they think My Kingdoms on earth too little to entertain at once both them and Mee; yet let the capacious kingdom of thy infinite Mercie at last receive both Mee and My enemies :*

*When, being reconciled to thee in the blood of the same Redeemer, wee shall live far above these ambitious desires, which beget such mortal enmities.*

*When their hands shall bee heaviest, and cruellest upon Mee, O let Mee fall into the arms of thy tender and eternal Mercies.*

*That what is cut off of My life, in this miserable moment, may bee repaired in thy ever-blessed Eternitie.*

*Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for My eies have seen Thy salvation.*

Vota dabunt, quæ bella negarunt.

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F I N I S.

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